

EUROPE UNDER THE NAZI SCOURGE

A PICTURE & AN INDICTMENT

A REPRINT OF
SOME RECENT ARTICLES IN
THE TIMES
ON CONDITIONS
IN THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE
WHICH HAVE FALLEN UNDER
NAZI OPPRESSION

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INTRODUCTION

WHETHER the Axis Powers seek a new associate in Asia, denounce their principal enemy in Europe, or seek to justify themselves at the bar of neutral opinion in America, the same phrase recurs again and again as the burden of their rhetoric. Japan agrees to a partition of spheres for the erection of the “New Order” in East and West, a furious invective declaims that Great Britain, by her refusal to recognize defeat, is hampering the establishment of the “New Order”, the United States is invited to agree that, as a natural corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, whereby she secures the Americas from outside interference, she should stand aside from the affairs of the Old World and allow Europe to enjoy its own “New Order” under German leadership.

What is the “New Order”? No doubt its original theory and programme are to be traced in the pages of *Mein Kampf*, it is the doctrine of *Lebensraum* as applied to those peoples who are not of the privileged blood of the *Herrenvolk*. But as a result of a year of war the “New Order” has passed from theory to practice, and the world is able to study it in greater detail. It is being worked out in Czechoslovakia, undermined and overwhelmed before the war, in Poland, the first victim of the *Blitzkrieg*, in Denmark, too pacific and too weak to resist invasion, and Norway, whose gallantry in the face of treacherous attack was made vain by worse treachery within, in Holland and Belgium, whose very punctiliousness in the observance of the duties of neutrals was made the means of their undoing, in France, the heroic champion of liberty, betrayed by corrupt and craven rulers, in Rumania, which now receives the wages of subservience to the forces of oppression.

INTRODUCTION—*continued*

This collection of articles, which have appeared in *The Times* at intervals since November, 1939, may claim in the aggregate to be regarded as the first description of the “New Order,” as it has so far unfolded itself in the conquered countries of Europe. It is a tale of organized pillage, whereby subject populations are robbed and starved for the sustenance of the German war machine, of the suppression of universities, schools, newspapers, and all the organs whereby free peoples maintain the life of the spirit; of deliberate outrage to all the sanctities of faith and patriotism; of the deposition of national leaders and the elevation of traitors, of government by police and spies, of torture and murder for the enslaved who chafe against their chains.

The adulators of Hitler claim that he has already accomplished more than Napoleon Buonaparte. That would be no reason for sparing him the retribution that overtook Napoleon. But in fact there is no just parallel. The armies of Napoleon were missionaries of a great idea; wherever the eagles penetrated they brought with them the intense stimulus of French revolutionary thought, and forces in the mind of the conquered peoples were set at work, which have moulded the spiritual history of Europe ever since.

But no fertilizing ideas have followed the Swastika. No spiritual forces have been released by Hitler. The régime depicted in these pages is a régime of blight and death. They will be searched in vain for evidence of a single positive or constructive principle. Nazism, in practice as in theory, turns out to be mere negation. When Europe has been released from the terror, it will have to start rebuilding on the foundation of its old free tradition, to which the gospel of force, which is all that the “New Order” amounts to, has nothing to contribute.

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I

NAZISM A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE

BRUTE STRENGTH AS SUBSTITUTE FOR RELIGIOUS BELIEF

HITLER'S EMPIRE OF EMOTION

From THE TIMES of September 2, 1940

A YEAR AGO to-morrow the British people took up arms against the German menace, against the evil things, "brute force, bad faith, injustice, oppression, and persecution" Since then hardly a day has passed without fresh and wanton acts of German savagery War is brutal ; on the battlefield no quarter is asked or given But it is in what they have done away from the battle-fields, often after the fighting is over, that the Germans have added their blackest page to human history. Against the helpless they have been the most ruthless.

A small part of what the Polish people have suffered has become known through neutral sources, through the Germans' own proudly proclaimed decrees, and through the Polish Government's Black book on the German invasion, just published in London, a reticent chronicle of murder by machine-gun bullets, cudgels, and jack-boots Altogether 70,000 Poles—over 24,000 of them women and youths—have been executed or murdered behind the lines From other enslaved countries come records of the same black crimes In Prague, long after the first wholesale executions and arrests with which the Germans showed that they had taken Bohemia under their wing, students were pulled out of their beds on November 16-17, at least 120 to be shot out of hand, others to be kicked to death while the rest had to watch, others sent to prison. In Belgium a Canadian correspondent has described how he saw the deliberate bombing of Tournai, the pleasant market town which the Germans had reconnoitred and discovered to be full of refugees ; hundreds were killed, the others streamed panic-stricken over the roads and thereby (as the Germans had planned) prevented the approach of the Allied forces

The list is endless. The British have seen how German aeroplanes have come purposely to bomb and machine-gun lightships and open lifeboats. Within recent days children on the Scilly beaches have been killed by low-swooping craft. Families blackberrying in the southern counties have been as deliberately attacked. The British Government's White book on the Concentration Camps recorded tortures that to many readers must have seemed incredible; the 11 months since then have made the truth more credible. There is still on record a telegram in which Hitler congratulated some storm-troopers who had trampled a political opponent to death at Beuthen—one of many such murders.

It is a list from which civilized minds shrink. Many British knew the Weimar Germany and had friends there. They now wonder how those serious and apparently peaceable people can produce such barbarians. "Yes, we are barbarians," Hitler has declared. An explanation is largely to be found in the teaching which is the German leaders' boast—the teaching forced into every mind, and more strongly into every young mind, in Germany. To secure loyalty for himself Hitler set out to destroy every other loyalty of religion, scientific thinking, justice, family, social advancement, and personal integrity. He has largely succeeded. Terrorism, pageantry, sickly and frantic emotionalism, the heady appeal of force, quick successes, lying and trickery beyond man's previous experience, fervid pictures of the glories to come when *Deutschland über Alles ist*, with sly hints of special favours for the elect, the blondest and the most loyal—all have given him his blind following.

It is in their attacks on religion and on science that the German leaders have set down their own counter-standards the most exactly. To get rid of the political parties Hitler simply arrested the leaders and stole the money, while providing circuses and promising bread for the followers. Before 1933 he promised to defend workers' rights; one of his first acts afterwards was to break up and pillage the trade unions. In their necessarily greater efforts to unearth and destroy the deeper roots of religion and science the German leaders have poured out a copious literature that reveals their mind. Hitler himself set the tone in a speech as far back as 1923.—

Wir wollen keinen anderen Gott haben als nur Deutschland We wish to have no other God but Germany. (*Bayrischer Kurier*, 25, v, 23)

This is varied a little later by Baldur von Schirach, the leader of German youth:—

To serve Germany is to serve God to serve God is to serve Germany.

Later, when it seemed that the Protestants were rallying to meet the menace, subtler tactics were employed Germans like Rosenberg began to dress up their heathenism in a mass of false reasoning and false mysticism, hoping to force conviction by weight of words and by solemn intensity of expression The "German Christian" movement, which was to be above all sects and responsible to Hitler alone, was launched under Reich Bishop Muller As modern Germany had no intention of being brought into line with Christianity, the Godhead was to be *gleichgeschaltet*, brought into line with Germany —

To-day a new faith is awakening the Myth of the Blood, the faith by which the divine essence of man is defended through the Nordic Blood. (Rosenberg, "Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts" Hoheneichen-Verlag, Munich, 1939, p 114)

So far as there is a God, Rosenberg goes on, the whole basis for rendering homage is based on German soil and German blood The thought has more lately been carried on by Ley, leader of the German Labour Front :—

For us there is only one idea, one outlook on life, one religion which can bring bliss—and that is the eternal belief in the German *Volk*, in its blood and in its soil and in its creator Our religion would not exist if our blood did not exist (Speech at Cologne, 15, XII, 33)

In later years less has been heard of the attempt to find the God for Germans alone The attacks on Christianity have become cruder and sharper, and the peculiar blasphemy of deifying Hitler has gained ground —

In later centuries, when one will have a true measure for things as they are to-day, it will be said "Christ was great, but Adolf Hitler was greater!" (District Leader Willi Becker, reported in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 10, X, 35)

German culture is the achievement of everything priceless and noble Christianity . . . has waged a deadly war upon this higher type of man. Christianity has sided with everything weak, low, and botched (Fritz Pfundter, "Christentum und Deutsche Kultur?" Verlag Sigrune, Erfurt)

The attacks grew as the Germans felt themselves more secure, and no doubt as Hitler's own views became known —

One is either a German or a Christian You cannot be both . . . What's to be done, you say? I shall tell you we must prevent the Churches from doing anything but what they are doing now—that is, losing ground day by day Do you really believe the masses will ever be Christian again? Nonsense! Never again! That tale is finished No one will listen to it again But we can hasten matters The parsons will be made to dig their own graves . I can guarantee that they will replace their cross with our swastika ("Hitler Speaks," Rauschning Thornton Butterworth)

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Kerrl, Minister for Church Affairs, breaks in.—

The question of the divinity of Christ is ridiculous and unessential A new authority, Adolf Hitler, has arisen as to what Christ and Christianity really are. (Speech, 13, II, 37)

The above brief extracts cannot more than indicate the kind of stuff which is poured out week by week in every party paper and in most speeches What Rosenberg's foggy, turgid, pseudo-scientific "Myth of the Twentieth Century" has set out to do against loyalty to religion, a great mass of equally turgid and designedly overwhelming books and lectures on "geopolitics," "blood-and-soil theory," and *Weltanschauung* has done to the teaching of pure science and objective knowledge Objective teaching has gone Young minds are not taught geography or history as such. They are not given anything on which they can bite They are not given truths which they can test by analytical exercise or by comparative methods The old objective teaching was designed to train minds to think for themselves, to reflect and to prove Such minds are now anathema More and more hours at school and at the university are devoted to purely emotional and unscientific propaganda and theories that destroy all rational thought In recent years the German students, once the pride as well as the anxiety of the older generation, have boasted openly that they are done with rational thought "We don't want to think—only to believe and do."

There can be no doubt that among great masses of the German people Hitler's methods—of destroying all objective standards and of filling the resultant vacuum with every kind of heady poison—have had their effect. British visitors to Germany have known the mass hysteria at the Nuremberg Party Rally each year They have probably attended meetings in small market places of a Sunday morning, when each speaker deliberately squares his jaw in a brutal expression and barks out harsh and brutal words They have heard the constant drumming and chanting night after night That has been the German meat and drink for years ; and there has been little or no antidote German thinkers used to talk of the national *Verlorenein*, the sense of being lost The German leaders of to-day have given a way out and have destroyed all others and all means of finding others Day by day the only standard has been that which the Reich Minister of Justice defined . "Right is what is in the interests of the German *Volk* , wrong is what harms it."

NAZISM A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE

It was at the head of such an empire of emotion that Hitler went to war a year ago. One of the few sciences left in Germany is military, given a new sense of brutality and backed up by a great weight of arms. All human considerations are set aside To-day there come to mind the words of Calgacus to the Britons as they faced the invaders before the battle of the Grampians . “ To plunder, to slaughter, to steal—these things they misname Empire , and where they make a desert they call it peace.”

What the German leaders have done to German minds presents one of the greatest problems in the reconstruction of Europe after the day of victory It is hard to know how long will be the period of cleansing and re-educating On the other hand, the very uncreativity and destructiveness of their present doctrine mean that it will be discarded the more quickly by the peoples, now enslaved, who preserve in their hearts the ideals and the standards of civilization.

II

BOHEMIA UNDER THE GERMAN HEEL

GREATER RUTHLESSNESS SINCE THE FRENCH COLLAPSE

NEW EFFORTS TO CRUSH CZECH SPIRIT

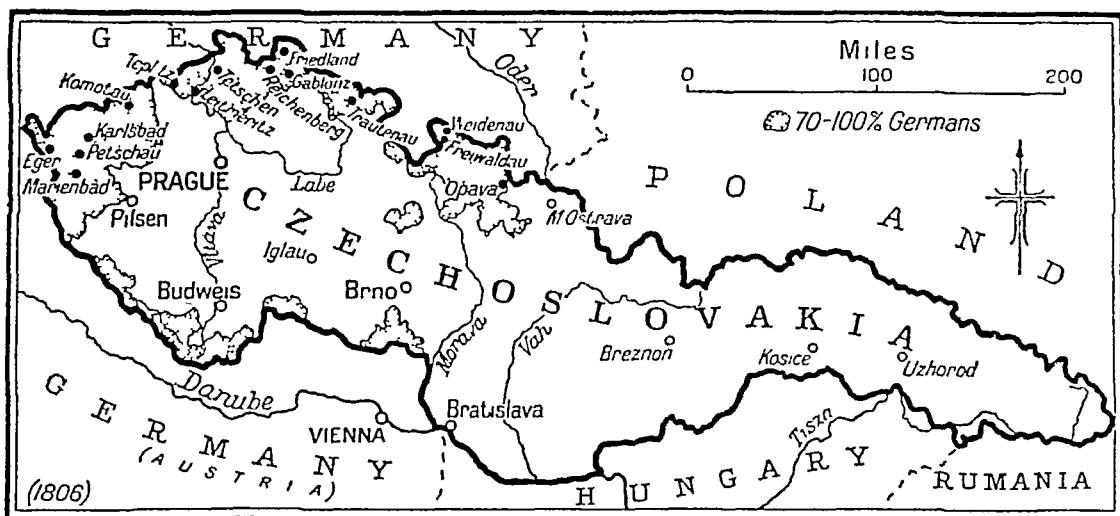
From THE TIMES of August 27, 1940

APPARENTLY some Central Europeans thought that the Germans, as they gained fresh territories to the north and west, would become more tolerant towards their earlier enslaved peoples. Even in the Bohemian "Protectorate" there were a few—a very few—who nursed such beliefs, they played up to the Germans in the hope of future reward. How completely they misread the National-Socialist mind is seen in the reports coming from Prague since the collapse of France. Was Hitler to unteach *Mein Kampf* and repudiate the whole doctrine of the *Herrenvolk*, the German master race? In the German mind success elsewhere has meant that they can now afford, not to show a little leniency but to be more ruthless in tightening the clamp.

The fresh wave of arrests in Bohemia began even before France collapsed. The Gestapo and S S men—swaggering youths for the most part—became aware of the muttering against them in Germany. They were strutting through the streets of Prague and Vienna while fathers of families and their own less athletic brothers were in the firing line. To justify their soft jobs at home the Gestapo and Black Guards began quite suddenly to discover nests of rebellion in the most unlikely places. In Prague some of the men who had publicly welcomed the Germans a year ago—and had been reviled for it by their compatriots—were thrown into prison by the Germans.

BOHEMIA UNDER THE GERMAN HEEL

After the collapse of France and the Low Countries the arrests were widened in scope. Within recent days many Social-Democrats and Left-Wing politicians, hitherto unscathed, have disappeared. Local government officials have followed them. The Mayor of Prague, Dr. Klapka, until recently patted on the back by the Germans for his complaisance, is now arrested. So is the city's prominent official, Dr Nestavak. With officials have gone many of the remaining educationists, and only the usual Gestapo news is heard of them. Dr. Wenig (it has already been reported) has been tortured until his mind has given way. A brother professor of his in the Legal Faculty of the Caroline University, Dr Matejka, is somewhere unknown. So are the writers Josef Kopta and Jan Grmela.



In their usual way the Germans try to deceive foreign opinion by a few specious, demagogic devices. Wages (they say) have been increased, and they point to the two wages packets which the workers now receive—the first containing the wage at the old rate, the second ostentatiously containing the amount of the increase given since the Germans entered Prague. The Germans also declare that rationing in the Protectorate is less strict than in Germany itself. They pretend to show that they encourage Czech movements by pointing to the Vlajka Party existing under their patronage.

They do not point to the reverse side of these devices. Wages in some trades have indeed gone up a halfpenny an hour; but the worker has to pay either a third or two-thirds more for

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everything he buys in the shops In reality he is far worse off financially Rationing is better than in Germany, but food is much scarcer than ever under the Republic The Vlajka Party exists—led by criminals whose police record startled even Von Neurath, the “Protector.” The rank-and-file of the party is composed largely of riff-raff or irresponsibles When the SS men in Prague egged the Vlajka on to storm the offices of the Czech National Solidarity Party, the crowd booed the Vlajka as robustly as the SS men.

The arrest of leaders of the National Solidarity Party is only one, and not the greatest, of the measures lately taken by the Germans to stamp out the Czech way of life, political, economic, cultural All the relics of the former provincial autonomy under the Republic have now been scrapped The provincial representative bodies, commissions, and committees have been dissolved Since March 15, 1939, they have not had executive power , but their dissolution now is taken by Czechs as yet another step towards the simple incorporation of Czech territory within the Reich.

More significant are the barriers against Czech teaching Universities and schools in Czecho-Slovakia had much the place that they have in Scotland to-day , getting education was the goal of a young Czech and the source of pride to his parents No Czech university is now open German scientific institutions are availing themselves of a recently given licence to take apparatus or books from a Czech university institute In some institutes little was left after the destructive excesses of last November , that little is now imperilled The building of Czech elementary schools and secondary schools has been forbidden All building materials, it is said, are required by the military—but German schools are still being built. The stocks of publishers and booksellers are confiscated *en bloc* once again, “ required by the military ”

In economic life there is the same story of discrimination. For a number of reasons, not wholly German-made, industrial production has fallen by a third. The lack of raw materials may be chalked up to the British account. Certain examples of faulty workmanship may be chalked up to the Czech What is German-made is the deliberate closing of factories in the Protectorate and the sending of their machinery to Russia and to South America Almost everywhere—except for some armament factories—the

BOHEMIA UNDER THE GERMAN HEEL

Germans are depriving Czech industries in favour of German No less thoroughly German is the deportation of industrial workers to the Reich Under the latest compulsory labour law all Czech men from sixteen to seventy have to work where their masters tell them. Probably hardly less than 300,000 have already been taken across the frontier From the industrial area around Moravska Ostrava 11,000 were taken off within a few weeks. The deportations are carried out as ruthlessly from Bohemia as from Poland.

What is the Czech reply to all this ? Part of it may be seen in a certain amount of bland and faulty workmanship Part may be seen on the land. It is believed that the harvest will be less than half of normal, and it seems as though some farmers have returned to the 1918 tactics of growing only for their own households Last year they grew for others to harvest ; they saw their produce taken off to Germany Even this year the Germans have taken large stocks of potatoes—whether for food or for fuel alcohol is unknown (Purchases of potatoes for Germany have been heavy in Spain) Another part of the Czech reply is seen in the response to appeals for scrap or for German funds Lately the Vlajka Party announced that they were going to collect several truck-loads of old iron , after much canvassing and carting they brought in about 300lb.

Most of all the Czechs bide their time and look for future deliverance The British Government's recognition of the Czecho-Slovak Government in London had a bracing effect in many parts of the Protectorate The people saw in it a signpost to happier and brighter ways than they have known under the Germans, for whom to protect means to stifle

IRON HAND IN PRAGUE

PERSECUTION OF THE CZECHS

A SUDETEN BULLY

From THE TIMES of November 20, 1939

IN the eight months that have passed since the occupation of Prague three dates stand out—June 4, the day of the Nazi Rally in Budejovice (Budweis) , June 7, when the German policeman

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Wilhelm Kniest was found dead in Kladno ; and October 28, the twenty-first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's Day of Independence

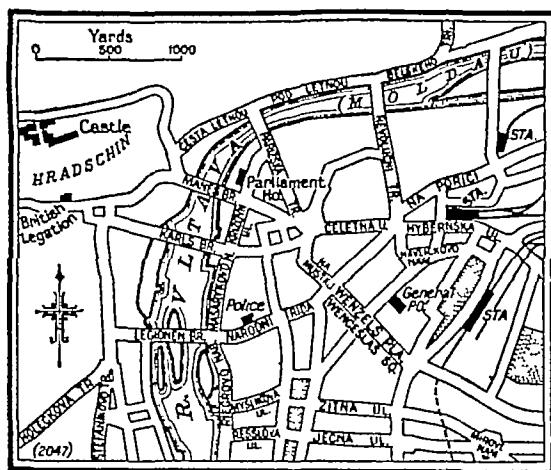
In each of these events the Nazi State Secretary, Karl Hermann Frank, has played a leading part At Budejovice, a South Bohemian town with a population and tradition overwhelmingly Czech, he told party adherents, most of whom had been brought from Austria, that the town "was, is now, and would ever remain German" It was he who went post-haste to Kladno, and, before it had been established how Kniest had died, before the *post mortem* at which three bullets of a type only fired from German service revolvers were extracted, imposed collective penalties on this small mining community, swept into prison all the leading citizens, the mayor, the town councillors, the doctors, priests, lawyers, and chief shopkeepers Many died there. Two went mad The old mayor was thrown to his death out of a window of the Spilberk fortress in Brno ; the dean left prison with a smashed jaw.

It was Frank again who on the evening of October 28 was seen in Prague in the Karlovo Náměstí, riding whip in hand at the head of a gang of Hitler's Black Guards. Those who saw this scene say that it reminded them of the arrival in town of a gang of sharpshooting cowboys as traditionally portrayed in American Wild West films Some sixty shots were fired. Frank is a middle-aged Sudeten German, lifted by Nazi politics from an obscure life, of which little is known except that as a bookseller in Karlsbad he went bankrupt. An expert saboteur, he represents Sudeten Germany in its most revengeful aspects. To-day he holds the posts of head of the Police Force and State Secretary of the "Protectorate" In August Hitler decorated him highly, setting an end to rumours that he was to be superseded by one less blatantly at variance with official policy in the Protectorate. A leader of the most violently Nazi section of the Sudetens, he figured prominently in the Moravská Ostrava incident of September, 1938, when a light blow received at the hands of a Czech mounted policeman caused a breakdown of negotiations between representatives of moderate Sudeten Germans and the Prague authorities.

Frank's actions since the occupation are consistent with his earlier policy of preventing German-Czech understanding The Budejovice speech was a flat denial of the Fuhrer's promise to

IRON HAND IN PRAGUE

President Hacha that the Czechs were to have cultural and administrative autonomy. The brutal display at Kladno was intended to show Berlin that firmness was needed in the Protectorate. The handling of the demonstrations on October 28 effectively snuffed out any faint flicker of Czech-German understanding that Freiherr von Neurath was trying to keep alive. Resistance to Frank's policy from more moderate German quarters always comes after the damage has been done. Neurath cancelled the penalties imposed in Kladno and sent a wreath to the funeral of a Czech policeman murdered at Náchod a few days later. He is also known to have intervened after the Independence Day celebrations. Himmler visited Prague immediately after the



Kladno incident and again on October 30, when he addressed the S.S. leaders in sharp terms. But Neurath is an old man, cynical and disillusioned, who prefers to play chess in the Hradčany rather than intervene actively in Protectorate affairs. From the beginning of the occupation the Sudeten Germans have had their way.

Sudeten German policy seems to be aimed at persuading Berlin that the Czechs must be cleared out of Bohemia and Moravia. It was one of their leaders who told this correspondent that they were out to "smash the brains out of the Czechs." They have for the Czech workman that respect that a caste which feels itself specially privileged to dominate holds for an industrious and talented people; but they consider that during the past twenty-one years an artificially created *intelligentsia*, all of which has in some mysterious way lived on Dr. Benesh's bounty, has disturbed the

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desirable relationship which used to exist between German employer and Czech employee

Much of the violence of Sudeten German behaviour since the occupation of Prague can be attributed to disappointment , the destruction of the Czech *intelligentsia* has in no way altered the attitude of the Czech worker Attempts to foster anti-Semitism in the working class through a financial support of various Czech Fascist organizations has failed dismally. The heavily subsidized Czech National-Socialist Workers' Party was swept out of existence by demonstrations of working-class solidarity against Germanism during the boycott of the Prague tramway service. The part played by the Czech labouring class on Independence Day now leaves no doubt about the future of Czech-German relations.

It has become possible to reconstruct the events of that historic day by trustworthy accounts from Prague. As October 28 probably marks the end of a phase in Nazi policy within the Protectorate, it is as well that these events be recorded Plans were laid for several weeks before the former national holiday. Nowhere does there appear to have been a desire to make a " Bloody Saturday " of a day which commemorates the bloodless overthrow of Habsburg rule It was decided, however, to make Czech feeling clear The workers in heavy industries started collections in their factories as a form of insurance against damage done to their Sunday clothes, which they decided to wear at their work that day Children were to be sent to school in their best clothes. The citizens of Prague were to avoid shopping and set apart part of the day for visiting national monuments or the tombs of Czech heroes. Black ties were to be worn, hats carried In the evening blinds were to be left undrawn so that lights would blaze on to the streets as on days of national mourning These plans were distributed by word of mouth and by illegal pamphlets. Study of the pamphlets shows that only in one instance was the use of violence advocated , and the signature of this pamphlet was " Prague Section of the Third International." The Germans, of course, knew what plans had been laid With incredible naivety their local wireless transmitter announced that on October 28 Czechs would mourn for German soldiers killed in Poland Nevertheless, the motorized units of the police were concentrated at the gates of Prague on Friday night, and posters were displayed warning the population that absence from work

would be considered as sabotage, punishable by German military law.

There is no doubt that Frank and his supporters in the extremer ranks of the Sudeten-Germans, most of them now enrolled in para-military organizations in the Protectorate, seized the opportunity of Independence Day to create disorder. They had enough experience of Czech temper to know that it is as yet no part of the Czech plan to organize open revolt. Without their intervention the day should have passed off as merely another display of patient determination.

Early on Saturday workers from the Orion chocolate factory at Vinohrady marched in column down the Vaclavske Námestí. As the morning progressed they were joined by others who had either not turned up at their jobs or who had done so only to assemble for parade. At noon there were some 7,000 to 10,000 people in excess of the normal number on the central boulevard of Prague. Their behaviour was calm. The Czech Police-President reported to the Protector's Office at noon that the Czech police had the situation entirely in hand. Gestapo agents, however, posted on a balcony of the Ambassador's Hotel, evidently thought otherwise. When a procession of S S men entered the Vaclavske Námestí, marching under the banner of the skull and crossbones, a band of German youths, later found to have been carrying revolvers, accosted Czechs wearing tricolor badges and the peaked riding cap traditionally associated with Thomas Garrigue Masaryk. Scuffles broke out immediately. The inflated crowds surged into the streets. That was a signal for the entry into action of armoured cars belonging to the German Schupos, who drove them to scatter the crowd, bringing many down. The injured were bundled into lorries and with hundreds of others arrested were taken to the Petschek Bank (now the Gestapo headquarters), and, when this was full, to the prison at Pankrác. Wounded men and women were trundled up the flight of stone steps into the entrance hall of the Petschek Bank. During the afternoon the cries of the prisoners were heard from the streets outside, as the beatings proceeded. At one moment the Czech police, overcome with horror, tried to force their way into the bank.

Meanwhile the Vaclavské Námestí had been closed and the crowd forced back towards the River Vltava. At the foot of Jungmannová, in the square where stands the church St Mary-in-the-Snow, the National Anthem was sung. At about four

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o'clock there were some 7,000 people in the Spálená street. Here for the first and only time a cry "Long Live Stalin!" was heard from a group of men in a lorry which circulated slowly through the crowd. The reply was immediate—"Benesh and the Republic!"

As the evening proceeded encounters became more violent, and many shots were fired. A young miner, Václav Sedláček, was shot dead by a German youth, and three persons walking quietly in the Melantrichová street were shot in the back by S S men and killed. Some eighteen persons were admitted into Prague clinics suffering from serious revolver wounds. The number of Czechs known to have been killed on the streets is seventeen, the number of arrests is estimated at 3,500. The injuries inflicted by the State Secretary, Frank, and his gang in the little park on Karlovo Náměstí, where revolvers, whips, and the butt-ends of rifles were used, have not been calculated.

President Emil Hacha, whose bearing of late has been full of courage and dignity, protested on October 30 to Freiherr von Neurath and received an apology and a promise that there would be no further retaliations.

Saturday, October 28, however, has proved a resounding success for Frank and his extremists and probably a final setback for Neurath's more moderate policy. It has scotched plans for the establishment of an "independent" Czech State. Such a move was discussed in mid-October, when Neurath invited Hacha to journey to Berlin and swear, in the name of the Czech people, an oath of perpetual loyalty to Hitler. In return there would be frontier revision. A part of Teschen would be restored, the Chods of the Domazlice district, wilfully split by the occupation of the Fifth Zone last autumn, would be reunited; various areas occupied for strategic purposes would be restored to the Czechs. Unanimously supported by the Czech Government, President Hacha refused to visit Berlin and withdrew to his country house under doctor's orders. It was probably fear that such proposals would be put forward again, either to the present or to a new Czech Government with a majority of "yes men" drawn from the so-called Vlajka group, that caused Frank and the extremists, who are afraid that they will be transferred to the Reich, to act with such violence on Independence Day.

GERMANIZING THE CZECHS

NAZI VARIANT FOR "PROTECTION"

ARSENALS FOR HITLER

From The Times of March 11, 1940

BEFORE the Nazi invasion the Czech-Slovak Republic stood above the other nations in Central Europe in the industrial and agricultural field. In the textile and clothing industries 330,000 workers found employment, in metallurgy 266,000, in building 139,000, in food purveying 133,000, and in mining 119,000. The Republic comprised 27,680 industrial concerns, employing 1,306,000 skilled workers. Arms and munitions manufacture was admirably organized under the Republic and spread all over the country. Around the centres of Pilsen, Prague, Brno, Kladno, and Ostrava branch works and smaller factories spread everywhere, so that should any of the important factories be destroyed others might continue to work uninterrupted.

Over half a million Czechs were available for arms manufacture. To-day, under the foreign régime, the metallurgical industry is working night and day throughout Bohemia and Moravia exclusively for Germany. By her annexation of Czech-Slovakia Germany has therefore gained a prize of no small industrial value. In the remote fastnesses of Bohemia work may proceed undisturbed, in contrast with the threatened Rhineland. The Bohemian munition works, moreover, have coal and other mines in their vicinity. This is the case at Kladno, Ostrava, Prague, and Brno, whereas Vienna and Graz are farther removed from the coal supplies. Under Hitler's iron control the Czech country is one vast arms factory, an arsenal all prepared. The Germans have obtained easy possession by robbery of the Brno arms factory and of the Skoda works at Pilsen. The immense importance attached by the Nazis to the arms industry in Bohemia is evident from the efforts they have made to assume control. The capital of the Skoda works was French. Now Albert Goring, brother of the Marshal, sits in the manager's chair in what was once the Etablissements Skoda.

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As in the arms industry, the textile industry has been Germanized all along the line. The number of workers employed in textiles was the greatest in Czechoslovakia and was largely in the hands of Jews. The Jewish owners have been deprived of their property under "Germanization." Works belonging to Aryan Czechs are absorbed little by little into the German banking system. Although the German god of war undoubtedly expects the utmost in clothing from the Czech factories, industrial conditions have grown weaker owing to lack of raw materials. The textile industry especially is in straitened circumstances, and it seems a fair estimate that only 30 per cent of the mills at work in March last, at the time of the invasion, will be still running a short time hence. Moreover, they are becoming increasingly dependent on *Ersatz* products, which are expensive and of poor quality.

For those metallurgical industries which are exploited for war purposes the Germans are endeavouring to supply raw materials, but they are themselves short. There is a great lack of copper, nickel, manganese, and even iron ore. At Poldina-Huti (Poldi-Hutte), near Kladno, engines are being manufactured for Junker aircraft, but fine-tempered metal parts have to be made with *Ersatz* products. So that the workers shall not divulge this fact notices are fixed over the machines threatening with 20 years' hard labour those who would disclose the materials used.

Transport problems are acute. Hitler's preference for sweeping motor roads and imposing architectural works has led to neglect of the railways. Locomotives and trucks are badly wanted. Greasing is defective. There has in consequence been a large number of railway accidents since the war began. It is learned from Prague that the Czech railway authorities have been compelled to transfer to the Reich their large oil stocks. The lack of lubricating mediums has already made itself felt. Passenger services have been curtailed and express trains are running at about half their normal speed. Repair shops are reported to be kept busy with locomotives strained by overloading.

Nazi policy in the Protectorate appears to be aimed at driving Czech-owned firms out of business and in this way obtaining not only a closer grip on Czech property but further opportunities for Germanization. The withholding of supplies causes bankruptcy, followed by the appointment of Nazi commissioners who arrange for the transfer to the Reich of a proportion of the Czech employees. Once a firm has come under its new controllers

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its supplies are resumed and German workers are taken on. Their arrival in Czech districts is used as an excuse for opening German schools, for founding local Nazi Parties, and spreading Labour Front propaganda in the factories. A recent issue of *Lidové Noviny* published a long list of Czech towns which, because of German infiltration, are in future to be known officially by German names.

The Nazi hold on Czech economic life has recently been tightened by the passing under German control of the Central Board for Social Insurance, whose director, Dr Zenkl, the former Lord Mayor of Prague, is now understood to be at Buchenwald concentration camp. The Statistical Bureau and the Price Control Commissariat are now also directed by Germans. Complete control of the transfer of real estate is exercised by the Nazi provincial commissioners, who are systematically Germanizing all regions considered strategically important and driving German wedges between Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. The forming of a Customs union between the Reich and the Protectorate, which is scheduled for April 1, is expected to result in even more rapid Germanization.

The withdrawal from circulation of large quantities of silver and nickel coin has caused an acute shortage of small change in Prague. The new issues of paper money, which include notes of one crown—the cost of a short bus ride—are unpopular with the public, particularly as rumours have spread that there is much false money in circulation. There has been a rush to convert cash into property, and publishers and art dealers declare that they never remember a better winter for sales of expensive editions and works of art.

Nazi taxation policy afflicts all industry. As throughout Hitler's Reich, the people are enslaved. Salaries exist only on paper, 30 per cent. is clipped from them before they reach the hand of the earner. Prices are rising far more quickly than salaries. Workers have been deported in thousands to Germany, and Nazis naturally hold the best posts in the Protectorate's industries. The pretended advantages of the "Strength through Joy" organization are enjoyed only by certain privileged Swastika associations. Yet despite their incessant demagogic the Nazis have not succeeded in winning over a single Czech workman. Bohemian and Moravian workers are quite conscious of the value of liberty, and speak derisively of the oligarchy governing

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Germany to-day. They say, "Die Bonzen im Speck, die Arbeiter im Dreck" (the bigwigs in the bacon, the workers in the mud).

The condition of the Jews in the "Protectorate" is a fair indication of the manner in which Nazi brutality is imposed on a humane people under their yoke. Before the invasion nearly 150,000 Jews enjoyed equal citizenship with the Czechs, but Nazi measures and the apprehension rapidly caused a reduction of their numbers. In October the authorities required the Jewish organization to take a census, which showed that the total Jewish population had fallen by nearly half, to 76,000. Of these 39,000 were in Prague. It is estimated that 5,000 have left since the census was taken. The Gestapo officer who since April, 1938, has carried out the destruction of the Jewish community in Austria was appointed to carry out simultaneously the destruction of Bohemian Jewry. He used the same methods of spoliation. There are three authorities in the Protectorate—the Czech Administration, the German "Protector," and the Gestapo. The Czech people did not respond to the invitation to bait their Jews, and their only measure of "Aryan" discrimination was the suspension of a number of Jewish advocates from their practice by the Advocates' Chamber, which was carried out on the German entry into Prague.

Now measures are carried through without legislation or decree, by the simple fiat of the Gestapo. The property of the Jewish organizations has been confiscated. Jews have been dismissed wholesale from employment. They are forbidden to be in the streets after a certain hour, or to enter restaurants, cafés, and cinemas. They may not be treated in State hospitals. There was a threat to exclude Jewish children from the State schools. Some alleviation was introduced by which Jewish children were admitted to Czech schools up to a limit of four per cent of the scholars, but the community had to found training classes for agriculture and technical work in Prague, so as to give the young generation some chance.

The most insistent drive against the Jewish population is to force them out of the country. Bohemia was to be *Judenrein* by this month, in order to celebrate the anniversary of the Protectorate. Those left with any means were warned to make their own way out, on pain of being transported to the enclave in Poland. Some thousands before the war obtained

immigration certificates for Palestine and have been assisted by the Czech Trust Fund to settle in the national home. The demand is still maintained that 250 Jews a day must leave the Protectorate.

ONE YEAR OF TYRANNY

A NAZI FAILURE

SPIRITUAL REVIVAL OF THE CZECHS

From THE TIMES of March 15, 1940

SINCE the grey-clad forces of the Reichswehr occupied Prague a year ago to-day they have presided over the gradual but deadly application of the Nazi system to a community of free men. Yet the history of these twelve months, though written in terror and anguish, is that of Nazi Germany's failure and of the Czech people's triumph. It must be peculiarly bitter for the Nazis to know that their failure has been caused by that deep-rooted and healthy nationalism which they had dismissed as the invention of a handful of theorizing professors and ambitious politicians.

With characteristic blindness, the Sudeten Germans who advise Berlin on policy in Bohemia-Moravia have failed to recognize that Czech nationalism of to-day, founded on a democratic educational system inspired by the humanism of T. G. Masaryk, is a more powerful force than in Habsburg times, when too much depended on the quality of political leadership. The persistent campaign to vilify Dr Benesh, to discredit the Constitution of the First Republic, and to destroy the reputation of national heroes has failed in its purpose to weaken the nation, because Czech nationalism no longer depends on any inordinate respect for leaders or political forms.

The paralysing of the central authority, whose every action is shadowed and frustrated by the Nazi State Secretary's department, has not led to the breakdown of national life. Local authorities, backed by the National Unity Party, have assumed the responsibilities that the process of decentralization thrust into their hands. This dispersal of forces in the face of the German onslaught gave the Czechs a valuable respite, preventing the Nazis from

establishing complete control during the early months of the occupation

The future of the Czech people lies in the hands of the individual man—with the Novaks, the Prochazkas, the Veselys, Smiths, Joneses, and Robinsons, ironworkers in dark, throbbing Kladno, cautious peasants of the bleak Moravian highlands, fishermen on the shores of southern Bohemia's lonely lakes, sly, humorous Prazaks of the capital. Against the most insidious of the invaders' weapons, the dark tide of moral corruption, these have stood firm, knowing that, unless they resist, their leaders abroad can do but little to restore their independent national life

Prague is a city where, in spite of its size, news and opinions spread by word of mouth with an almost Athenian rapidity, and where it is as difficult to suppress facts as it would be to put out a fire sweeping through its narrow courts. During the first few months German propaganda, backed by all the technical methods in Nazi control, was constantly undermined by the whispers and sly smiles of "the street." Within two or three days there were few who did not know the latest instance of Gestapo brutality or the most recently invented gibe at the Germans. Thus on March 17 it was common knowledge that S S. men were waiting for Czech schoolchildren and, by offering them apples and forcing them to their knees, obtaining propaganda photographs of "starving" Czechs liberated by the Germans; and photographs of Hacha's permit, signed by a mere lieutenant, giving him the right to travel throughout the State of which he was President, were widely circulated a day or two after the permit had been issued. The veiled allusions which began to appear in the controlled Press, concealed in crossword puzzles, weather forecasts, and innocent-looking articles, were readily understood by a people who have a peculiar talent for divining such things.

As Nazi methods, known until the Occupation only in general terms, were brought home to the individual Czechs by a series of pinpricks—the ill-clad reservist gorging in a favourite café, the Swastika banner cutting into a cherished view of the city, Hitler's stealthy visit to the Castle of the Bohemian Kings—the individual found his own methods of resistance. It was because this resistance often consisted in beating back the insidious doctrine of the Nazis within one's own personality that the period of occupation has been marked by a powerful spiritual revival. It is many decades since churches have been so full or pilgrimages so well attended. Librarians and publishers report a

great increase in serious reading It is evident that it is in search of spiritual as well as moral strength that many Czechs are now changing their way of life.

During the greater part of the twelve months the Nazis have been able to carry out their work unseen Land and industries have been transferred to German ownership by simple manipulations during the process of "Aryanization," which has been arranged to cover the main bulk of the national wealth Workers have been transferred to the Reich, under the guise of seasonal labour The German commissioners who quietly took office in many of the cities under cover of the military occupation were retained there by decrees issued by the Protector Every effort has been made to preserve an aspect of normality in daily life

Yet from time to time there have been occasions when a searching light has been thrown on to the real conditions The incident at Kladno was the first of these, when the State Secretary, Frank, tried to intimidate the workers by imprisoning their political representatives and by instituting a reign of terror in this small industrial town, on the flimsy excuse of the death of a German sentry It was Frank again who figured principally in the provocation on October 28 which led to the massacre of the students and the termination of all higher education in the Protectorate.

From these and similar incidents the Czech people have drawn their gallery of martyrs, known throughout the country There is a series of pictures in the minds of all, which foster the formation of a true judgment of Nazi methods They show machine-guns trained on prim working-class houses in which the police are systematically smashing the furniture , the swollen face of the young Czech police recruit Mueller, shot while sleeping by drunken Nazis at Náchod , students being mowed down as they are picked out by searchlights in their escape from raided hostels.

But, in his private gallery, every Czech has also examples of the modest, undemonstrative actions of the ordinary man—maintaining his good spirits, working within the confines of his everyday life for the preservation of true values, ingeniously expressing his contempt for his temporary overlord This man, the unknown volunteer, is a unit, without regimental number or apparent arms, in the shadow army against which the Nazis are vainly fighting.

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BLACK-OUT IN BOHEMIA

FORTITUDE IN THE IMPOVERISHED “PROTECTORATE”

THE NAZI WAY WITH STUDENTS

From THE TIMES of October 29, 1940

NOWHERE in all Germany is the black-out stricter than in Prague, though the city has not yet had a single air raid. In German towns there are shaded street lamps, at least at the crossings. In Prague you may grope your way for hours at night without detecting any street lighting whatever. The screening of windows and doors is much more strictly controlled than in Germany. It may be that this absolute darkness is enforced lest the Czechs should manage to help the English by some arrangement of light signals, or it may be merely intended to produce a depressing effect, it is certainly typical of the atmosphere reigning in the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. There one is not in a land of equal status, but in a large concentration camp.

Efforts towards the Germanization of the Czech nation have been noticeably sharpened this autumn. The names of streets in purely Czech towns now appear first in German and underneath in Czechic, and the same applies to business plates and the names of shops. Tram conductors must call out the names of stopping places first in German then in Czechic. Streets and squares are being renamed by the hundreds, not merely to obliterate reminders of free Czecho-Slovakia, but also to wound and deride the patriotic feelings of the Czechs. Naturally there is no longer a Masaryk Railway Station. London Street has become Munich Street as a constant reminder of the Czech tragedy; Paris Street has been named after the former anti-Semitic mayor of Vienna, Lueger; it passes the famous old synagogue, the oldest in Europe. The use of all old maps and guide-books containing the country and its capital has been forbidden pending completion of the renaming process and the preparation of new guides. Since not even the police have managed to learn the new nomenclature, there is great confusion among citizens and travellers alike. The Czechs try in many ways to set up a wall of

indifference between themselves and the Germanic pressure Nobody stops to listen to the German war propaganda as it emerges from loudspeakers in squares, at crossings and public places It is ignored as consistently as Czech girls ignore German soldiers streaming along the Václavské Náměstí. For long the German news reels at the cinemas were avoided by the Czechs, but the Germans have now forbidden entry into cinemas after a programme has begun, so that all must take his or her dose of German propaganda

The Germans are always thorough in *Kultur*. They begin with the children, who have no defence. The German language is begun in the lowest classes simultaneously with Czech. The old history and geography books have been forbidden. Many Czech teachers are faced with a hard choice between losing their posts or forcing themselves to adopt new text books in the Teutonic spirit. The best and most modern secondary school buildings in Bohemia have been turned into barracks or into evacuation homes for German children.

These measures are aimed at stifling the spiritual life of the people in the "Protectorate," which the masters achieve with all the sadistic means at their disposal. It may be recalled that last autumn the Czech university and all higher educational establishments were closed for three years as a reprisal for a students' manifestation. No one in Prague believes that these schools will be opened again in three years, should Hitler remain in power so long. Libraries and literary collections which have taken centuries to accumulate have been seized and removed elsewhere, the premises being used as German barracks or institutions, and the homes for poor students are similarly employed. Nothing has touched the Czech people more deeply than the bitter lot of their students. It was not only that nine leaders of the students' corporation were shot because the students had dared to sing as they followed a fellow-student to his grave; no fewer than 120 other youths were taken at random and done to death. Such bestiality was committed against the students as cannot be described in print. Numbers of students are still in prisons and concentration camps. These reprisals were taken in secret, and in university circles it is estimated that something over 1,000 students, lecturers, and professors have been deprived of their liberty. Arrests are still carried out night by night, and many still free are under constant police supervision. A lady of the intellectual class declared she had thirty acquaintances in

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prison and an author told me that ten of his acquaintances had committed suicide.

For the students still free, but with all possibility of study removed, the great problem is how to become absorbed in productive work, so that they need not go to Germany, where there are already too many Czech workmen in munition and arms industries. Business houses and farmers try to give them employment, but in the present general stagnation they have not work enough even for their old staffs. During the last year the Protectorate has become an impoverished land, its produce systematically drained by the "Protector." There is ample evidence of this in the shop windows, where one could formerly see the choicest meat products, but now it would be hard to discover a meagre leg of pork, there is evidence in the fabric shops where prices have doubled, in leather goods and clothing establishments, whose prices have become fantastic.

Some day we shall be free again (say the Czechs), but meantime we are being plundered. The German State takes property and land, private furniture, household linen, wines from the cellar, table-services, leaving nothing behind. Forests are hewn down, Czechs and Jews driven out to make room for immigrants from the Baltic, particularly Baltic barons, who have been given administrative posts. There is an exact control of how much meat, milk, and eggs our farmers can produce, and only a small portion is allowed to remain. Truck-loads of potatoes have been going continuously to Germany while not a potato can be found in Prague. Beyond this, large German forces have to be supported inside the country. The result is that the scarcity of goods is many times greater here than up there. A man and wife together received only seventy grammes of meat although they were entitled to 600 grammes.

In some senses it is fortunate that the Germans are bad as a dominating people. They have no idea how to get on with a conquered people and win them over. Local journalists were able in the first period to find all sorts of means to circumvent the censorship, but gradually the Germans learnt methods of combating the practice. Most of the "news" to be published is now received from Germany, with exact indications what type must be used and which position it must occupy in the newspapers. It is censored by both Czech and German proof-readers before being sent to press. It is strictly "verboten" to change a word to improve the style, or to remove a hyphen, but the Czechs manage now and then to put something through the censor's net.

With all this persecution, one has the strong impression that the Czech front is unbroken. There are opportunists who soar

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-to high posts in the "new order," but these everywhere encounter the destructive contempt of their fellow-countrymen. The first illegal Czech organizations were quickly discovered by the Gestapo and numbers of their leaders thrown into prison. But conspiracy cannot thus be checked entirely in an occupied land. Even in its unorganized state each group knows where to find links with fellow-thinkers. Peasants in the drowsy villages deal out punishment to those who willingly help the invaders to obtain foodstuffs.

Goebbels is an object of mockery since his meeting with Czech journalists brought from the Protectorate on a conducted tour in the Reich. He told them Germany had no wish to disturb the culture of the Czech nation or interfere with their social and economic peculiarities. First-hand experience, however, has shown how such assurances are to be interpreted, for Goebbels threatened continual strife unless the Czech nation "willingly and simply" fitted into the Nazi system. He warned them that if they would reap benefit from their submission they must voluntarily fall in with German wishes now while war was raging, for if they tried to come into line after the war had been won, it would be too late. Yet there is no conviction among the Czechs that Germany will win the war.

Czechs listen to wireless news from without, scorning the penalties of being caught, and pass on what they hear to those who have no receivers. The view is widespread that the invasion of England has become impracticable. A good deal of bitterness against France and England has remained in the hearts of Czechs since it was lodged there by Munich, but they know that liberation can come only by the defeat of Hitler, and there are deep cultural ties with France and Britain which cannot be obliterated for all that Munich has done. The Nazis do their utmost to remove all traces of these Franco-British ties. It is forbidden to translate literary works from French and English. Publishing firms have been ordered to issue more books by German authors. The Czechs do their best to surmount the gap by deeper study of their own literature. More books of national inspiration are published now than at any time before. There is a revival of folk-songs, recalling past periods of national endurance.

The National Theatre has a full house every evening, the applause sometimes developing into a national manifestation, especially when Smetana's operas are performed. A Czech of high repute must always be at hand in the salon as a hostage

for the discipline of his countrymen. As I left Prague I was followed by the quiet and oft-repeated refrain : " We may sink as individuals , but a whole nation cannot be destroyed entirely. Our country is and will be "

Martyred Czechs

From THE TIMES of November 20, 1939

Prague has become a forbidden city to the outside world, and not everything can be known of what is happening in the Nazified kingdom of Erebus which once was Czecho-Slovakia. It is certain however that the Czech people, bitterly resenting the tyranny which they suffer under the police rule of the Nazis, have once more allowed their feelings to get the better of their prudence, and have openly shown their repugnance to their oppressors When the first reports of rioting came through last week the German authorities quickly followed them with the announcement that all was quiet—which no doubt contained a grim element of truth But even the iron hand of the SS could not wholly keep down or conceal the spirit of revolt that possesses the Czechs. A later German *communiqué* admitted that public order had for some time been disturbed by " minor and major acts of resistance," and that " incidents " had occurred, particularly in the universities The universities had therefore been closed for three years ; and nine students had been shot Yesterday it was announced that three more had been executed , but in Budapest it is believed that over a hundred have been shot and some thousands arrested President Hacha is confined in the Castle of Lany Martial law has been proclaimed by the Protectorate Government of Baron von Neurath in Prague and in three other cities It is perfectly clear indeed that the tormented Czech people still place the love of liberty before all other sentiments and are suffering ferocious punishment at the hands of their German masters

The Nazi spokesmen include in every announcement an interpolation to the effect that the unrest is the work of a " group of intellectuals," inspired of course by Dr Benesh, and they often add that it is instigated by the British Government. The office of

the Protectorate in Berlin actually announced that President Hacha had himself spoken to this effect in a six-minute broadcast, in which he advised his people not to be led by "irresponsible persons" into "highly regrettable actions" What had occurred, he is supposed to have said, was the result of enemy propaganda and of incitement by the émigrés The sentiments of the patriotic but docile scholar who accepted the thankless task of succeeding Dr. Benesh cannot possibly be known at this moment, for there seems to be no doubt that he is doubling the role of prisoner of the Nazis with that of ruler of his people The announcement that he broadcast in those terms means nothing, in view of its source Nevertheless it is possible that he may earnestly desire his people to restrain their feelings as much as possible, and it is well known that leading Czechs in Europe and America consider that anything in the nature of a rising would at the moment be premature and ill-advised All the more is it futile for the Nazi propagandists to declare that the present troubles are deliberately engineered from abroad The responsibility for the disturbances rests entirely on the shoulders of the brutal local administration and the parent Government in Berlin, which have taken its freedom away from a brave and independent-minded race, and try by violence and by threats to reduce it to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the invaders. The present situation in Bohemia and Moravia is another proof of the utter incapacity of the Germans for ruling alien races

The story of their attempt to do so in Czecho-Slovakia during recent months is graphically told in an article written by a Correspondent who knows the country well and only recently left it He attributes much of the growth of hostile feeling to the attitude of Frank, the Nazi State Secretary It is typical of Hitler's methods that he placed as figurehead in the Hradčany Castle a moderate official, well known in this country, Baron von Neurath—one of the few pre-Hitler Cabinet Ministers who still holds an important post in the Nazi Administration But side by side with him he appointed one of the worst of the upstart Nazi bullies of the horse-whipping type—as well as giving a free hand to the Gestapo Frank is by origin a Sudeten German Rancorous and revengeful, like others of the Sudetens who adopted Nazism, he is determined to avenge upon the Czechs twenty years of political subordination in the Republic between 1918 and 1938 His mind is set upon turning the Czechs out of the region which they have occupied for centuries and then incorporating it in Greater Germany In

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justice it should be said that, originally at least, no such plan seems to have been contained in the Führer's policy, but his recent conversion to the system of wholesale transfers of population from one place to another may imply that Frank's project now finds favour in Berlin.

In any case Frank has steadily done his best to excite ill-feeling and promote disorder, and has effectually prevented any chance that may ever have existed that the Czechs, like earlier generations of their race, would settle down to live on good terms with German masters. President Hacha would probably have fostered such a policy, and would certainly have had the support of von Neurath. The events of Czech Independence Day at the end of last month, and their terrible sequel, have now, however, completely put an end to any such solution. Even President Hacha has felt obliged to reject the latest proposals made to him by the Protector. The Czechs were to be offered a greater measure of independence, and the frontiers of their State were to be modified in their favour. In return the President was to make a fresh declaration of loyalty to the Reich, and a contingent of Czech troops was to be sent to fight for it against Great Britain and France. The President, mindful, probably, of an earlier visit to Berlin, and distrustful, as everybody must be, of Nazi promises, declined to go to Berlin to sign another treaty. He has, therefore, according to messages from Amsterdam, been advised to remain isolated in President Masaryk's former home "for his health."

No doubt the uprising of Czech national spirit has drawn sustenance—which is not to say instigation—from the sympathy felt for the Czech cause in Great Britain and France and the knowledge that one of our own professed war aims is to liberate the foreign races which have been conquered and enchainèd by the Nazis. The inhabitants of the Protectorate are aware that a Czech National Committee has been formed in Paris, on the model of that of the Four Years War, and they have heard that a Czech Legion is once more being created to fight side by side with the Western Allies. But still more do they realize that their own position is in any case desperate under the Nazis, both materially and spiritually. They are short of food, their businesses have been interrupted and partly confiscated, their schools have been closed. Many of their leaders have been atrociously maltreated. A militarized régime that does not understand liberty is in fact trying to crush a people for whom life without liberty has become not worth living. The Czechs stand now, as

they have stood before in history, for national and moral values against a race of bullies who have tried to expel spiritual life even from their own national system. They stand, and they suffer, for freedom of speech and freedom of combination, and for the right of a small country to live in security and independence. These are liberties which Great Britain and France, and all the nations of the British Commonwealth, are determined to see re-established in Europe, and which lend to their campaign the character of a crusade.

A Tragic Anniversary

From THE TIMES of March 15, 1940

A year ago last night President Hacha of Czechoslovakia was summoned to Berlin and ordered to sign away the independence of his country. Hitler told him he had not been brought to the Nazi capital to negotiate. When he attempted to remonstrate he was informed that, if he refused, the German troops, which even at that moment were on the march, would be accompanied by bombing aeroplanes. The President fainted, and was restored to consciousness by Göring's doctor by means of an injection. Rather than see his country laid waste he then signed, and Czechoslovakia became a German protectorate. Such is the account given in the French Yellow Book of the notorious act of political brigandage in the night of March 14-15 last year, by which Hitler acquired "legal" control of Bohemia and Moravia, and the respected and aged Czech President has since firmly refused to yield to German pressure and issue an official denial of the French account. Nor have the Nazi authorities succeeded in extracting from the Protectorate Government the desired expression of gratitude to the Reich for the celebration of the anniversary of the entry of German troops into Prague to-day. And it is unlikely that there will be the slightest response to the exhortations of the Prague wireless to the population of the capital to come out and celebrate the invasion of their country. The simple people of town and country are quietly, stubbornly, sometimes humorously, and always very bravely, resisting the unceasing efforts of the Nazi authorities to Germanize them.

That these attempts have failed is, as Lord Halifax said in his broadcast to the Czech people last night, a tribute to their courage.

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and unity in adversity. It is not easy for Englishmen, who have grown up in freedom for centuries, to appreciate fully the courage required to retain its national spirit by a people whose every action is watched and every word noted by brutal overlords, and who see from time to time friends and relatives dragged off to a concentration camp for an incautious act of patriotism. Workers, too, are carried away to work for Germany in Germany ; and all the time by oppression, obstruction, manipulation, and sometimes outright robbery Czech owners are being deprived of their shops and their businesses and Germans put into their places. Hitler knew well enough how much loot there was to be seized from the industrious Czechs. The vast metallurgical industry of Bohemia and Moravia is now working exclusively for the benefit of Nazi Germany. The Germans have obtained easy possession by robbery of the Brno arms factory and of the Skoda works at Pilsen ; and the textile industry is now almost entirely in their hands. The *ersatz* materials of the Reich are also creeping into the processes of a country which used not to need them.

As in most Nazi ventures the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia has been successful on its material side, but on the spiritual side has failed utterly. The Nazis have gained territory and material, but they have not even begun to win over the people. Some of them—for example, von Neurath, the Protector—may have had the intention of creating a contented Protectorate ; but they have not grasped the first rule for the government of alien races, which is that government must be for the benefit of the governed. They make slaves wherever they go. It is with the firm resolve to restore the freedom of the Czechs, as well as of the Poles, that the British Empire and its Allies have taken up arms. It is their high resolve, as Lord Halifax said last night, to create a new Europe in which the wrongs perpetrated a year ago will be righted and a recurrence of Hitler's act of brutality and treachery made impossible.

III

POLAND UNDER THE GERMANS

WHOLESALE EXPLOITATION BY NAZI GOVERNORS

SURVEY OF A YEAR OF PILLAGE

From The Times of October 1, 1940

A YEAR has passed since the Germans overpowered Poland. Having retained about half the country with a population of almost 23,000,000, they bisected it once more and annexed to the Reich one-half with nearly 11,000,000 inhabitants, of whom only 600,000 were Germans, while the other was formed into the "*General-Gouvernement* for the occupied Polish Territories." According to the decree of October 12, 1939, this was to constitute "the future settlements of the Polish nation."

The part incorporated in the Reich includes all territories which had been Prussian before 1918, a wide belt of what had been Russian, and a few ex-Austrian districts west of Cracow. Nearly half the land now annexed had never before belonged to the Reich. The incorporated territory comprises the coalmines and metal and engineering works of Upper Silesia, Teschen, Dombrowa, and Sosnowiec, the textile centre of Lodz (renamed Litzmannstadt), and some of the richest food-producing regions of Poland. Polish Upper Silesia and the adjacent districts have been joined to Prussian Silesia, and some scraps in the north to East Prussia, but the bulk, in the centre, has been formed into two new provinces or *Reichsgaue*—Wartheland, under the notorious Greiser, former President of the Danzig Senate, and Danzig-Westpreussen, under the still more notorious Forster, former *Gauleiter* of Danzig, who, even in the days of German-Polish "appeasement," used to talk of the Poles in the most contemptuous terms, "the mildest of which," says Rauschning, "was 'lice.'" "It will be my glorious task in the next few years to obliterate all that speaks of Poland, whatever it may be," he

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declared at Bromberg on November 27, 1939 "Whoever belongs to the Polish nation has to leave the country"

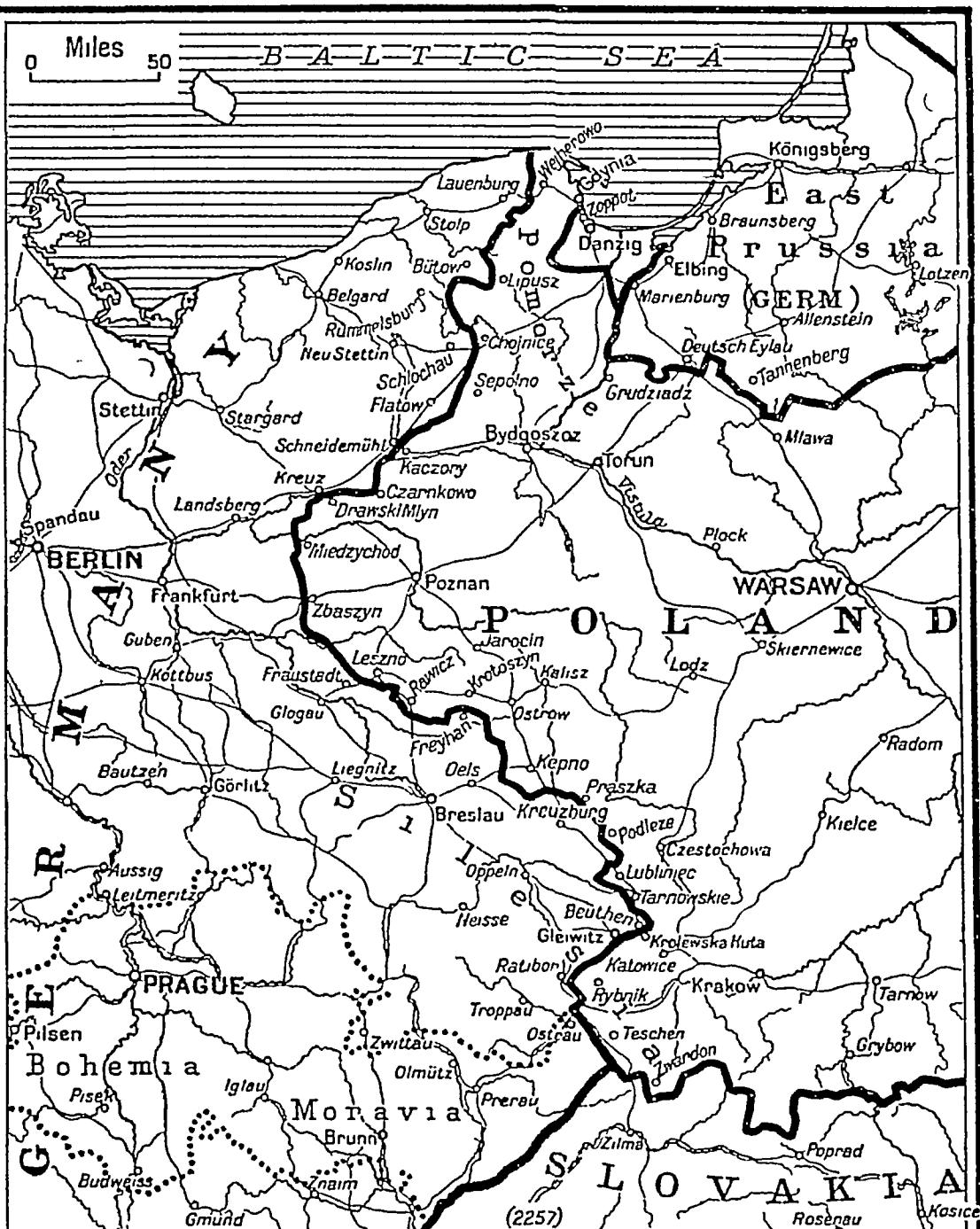
"The mentality of the last century, which thought it possible perhaps to make Germans of Poles and French, is foreign to us," Hitler had declared in the Reichstag on May 17, 1933 His meaning is now plain Countries are to be Germanized by extirpating their population, not by a process of denationalization Land in the annexed provinces owned by Poles has in principle been expropriated , their farms have been placed under control (*Zwangsverwaltung*, decree of February 12, 1940) , and removal of the population has been taken in hand A task of such magnitude naturally cannot be completed or even planned as one whole, nor do the Nazis tie their hands by clearly defined regulations Deliberate vagueness leaves scope for arbitrary action Their decrees frequently contain this characteristic clause *Soweit Vorschriften . nicht unmittelbar angewendet werden können, sind sie sinngemäß anzuwenden* ("where regulations cannot be directly applied, action in their sense should be taken")

This extirpation started with the educated classes—big landowners, doctors, lawyers, teachers, priests, and business men The Polish population was to be deprived of its leaders. Thousands of them were executed in the first months of the occupation ; tens of thousands have since been deported to the *General-Gouvernement* But soon expulsion was extended even to the working classes It was begun in October at Gdynia (renamed Gotenhafen) so as to cut off the Poles from the sea. Next came the town of Poznan In time belts of villages were cleared of their Polish population The Jews were everywhere treated with the greatest cruelty The evacuation is in the hands of Himmler and the Gestapo, and little that inhumanity can devise is thus spared the victims

A few years ago Hitler started to train, in four *Ordensburgen*, a "knightly order" of super-Nazis Some two hundred of these *Ordensjunker* were drafted for deportation work By March, 1940, about 700,000 Poles and Jews had been expelled ; now their number exceeds 1,000,000 In the appalling cold of last January up to ten trains a day left the annexed provinces with people herded together, mostly in cattle trucks. Transports are known to have been *en route* for as long as eighteen days, and numbers of people froze to death. The survivors arrived stripped

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of their property at places where no provision had been made for them. Almost worse than German cruelty is German humour



In certain cases the victims were paid compensation in Reich bank-notes withdrawn from circulation more than ten years ago, and at Poznan the Jews entrained for Lubartow were allowed

to take with them some of their belongings which they were made to place in vans. These were detached before the train started

The farms, houses, and workshops of the deported Poles and Jews, complete with stock, tools, furniture, and even clothing and linen, are handed over to Germans, belauded in lyrical Press accounts as *brave, tatkräftige Menschen* ("decent, industrious men"). The local German "minority" receives its fill of loot and of sadistic enjoyment, and its ranks are swelled by people who now choose to remember their German origin. Those of German extraction, however distant, who refuse to become *Volksdeutsche* are treated even worse than the Jews. To the local Germans are joined "evacuees" from provinces occupied by the Bolsheviks. Some 70,000 from the Baltic States have gone mainly into the towns. Of the 75,000 from the late Ukrainian provinces of Poland, most have been settled in villages, largely east of the German frontier of 1914. Some further 150,000 are expected from Bessarabia and the Bukovina, but apparently none of the 2,000,000 Germans are to be removed from Hungary, Rumania, or Yugoslavia. In weak States they form valuable German garrisons. It is planned to import settlers into Poland from Western and Southern Germany.

With well over 1,000,000 Poles and Jews driven into the *General-Gouvernement*, a poor territory and burdened with a large and ruined capital city, overcrowding is an obvious danger. But the Nazis show solicitude. "Unemployed" are pressed for work in Germany, and, in fact, quotas are often imposed on municipalities of labour to be supplied for emigration. Thus 1,000,000 of the best-skilled metal workers and engineers, agricultural labourers, and domestic servants—have been removed to Germany, but without benefit to the remaining population, for while the promise was given that remittances home would be allowed up to 100 zloty (about £2 10s) a month, the total pay of the workers is about half this amount, and as a rule barely covers their maintenance. Jews are not taken to Germany, but are forced to do hard, humiliating, and often perfectly useless work at home without regard to their qualifications and status.

In the *General-Gouvernement* factories work if their produce fits into the German scheme. otherwise their machinery is either transferred to Germany or scrapped for metal. The Polish forests are to be "properly exploited" (decree of January 21, 1940). They are cut down without the least regard to rational forestry.

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Goring, the sportsman, in the past an honoured guest at many Polish shoots, shows his appreciation Germans alone are henceforth allowed to shoot game in Poland. This year's harvest is expected to suffice for the needs of the *General-Gouvernement*, but a strict hierarchy with regard to the distribution of food will regulate the incidence of hunger to suit the Nazi *Weltanschauung*. The German Army comes first, then the S S, the *Reichsdeutsche*, the *Volksdeutsche*, after them the Poles, and last, if anything is left, the Jews.

The counterpart to economic destruction and exploitation is supplied by the treatment of Polish universities, institutes, libraries, and museums. They had their treasures either pilfered or deliberately destroyed so as to obliterate Poland's historic past and uproot her intellectual life. Here again German *bonhomie*, a mixture of obtuseness and perfidy, has shown itself to advantage. German scholars who had visited Polish academic institutions during the period of German-Polish cultural *rapprochement* now return to steal the treasures which they had been shown as guests, and expostulate if an object which had caught their fancy is missing.

During the period of "friendship," in February, 1936, the Nazi Minister Frank came to Warsaw and discoursed in glowing terms on German-Polish cooperation. This same Frank now presides over the *General-Gouvernement* at Cracow, Warsaw having been deliberately reduced to ruins a year ago. His administration is chaotic and does little honour to him and his assistants. There are, in fact, three independent administrations—the Army, the Gestapo, and the civil government, staffed with officials of low quality. Governor Frank himself explained in an interview published in the *Westdeutscher Beobachter* on February 11, 1940.

The Germans have coined a new term for defining the value of Civil servants in the *General-Gouvernement*. *Polendiensttauglich* ("suited to service in Poland") It speaks of authority and comradeship. I don't care about a man's antecedents. All that matters is his performance.

At first the *General-Gouvernement* was apparently intended to become a protectorate under a puppet Government, but so far the Germans have failed to discover any Polish Quislings, and on August 15, at a Nazi rally at Cracow, Frank made the following announcement —

A few days ago the Führer determined that henceforth the *Gouvernement* was not to be looked upon as occupied territory, but as an integral part of the Great-German power-space. . . . No one shall in future find

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employment here who is not the strongest and most determined National-Socialist Here the party must prove its ability to secure for ever German domination over this country conquered by the German Armies . The Vistula is henceforth a German river .

To convert Cracow into a worthy centre of "Adolf Hitler's Great-German Reich," Frank ordered the expulsion of Jews from the city. Otherwise the change from occupation to annexation was hardly felt, and it seems to have been primarily a hint given to Russia, a demonstration of the German will to build up her own strongholds in Eastern Europe Similarly the game now carried on with the Ukrainians is directed as much against Russia as against the Poles In Eastern Chelm, along the River San, and in the Carpathians, Poland under German occupation contains a certain number of Ukrainians These now receive preferential treatment. Schools are opened for them, courses are held to train them for local government work , posts are provided for members of the Ukrainian *intelligentsia* who have fled from the Bolsheviks ; the Greek Orthodox Church receives encouragement , national Ukrainian associations are founded and fostered Altogether in the scale of favours, the Ukrainians rank immediately after the Germans It is further significant that the official Polish Anti-Communist Intelligence Service in Warsaw is, with the sole change of its director, kept working by the Nazis, who have taken care to preserve its archives and organization

GESTAPO IN POLAND

SEATS OF LEARNING CLOSED

THE WAR ON THE MIND.

From THE TIMES of March 1, 1940

THE methods applied by the Germans in Poland against the universities and their academicians prove that Germany aims at a complete annihilation of Polish intellectual life and scientific institutions In their violence these methods have hardly been surpassed in modern civilization. No difference is made between the provinces annexed to the Reich and the rest of the occupied territory · everything is being destroyed which might contribute to the culture of the Polish people. The Universities of Cracow, Warsaw, Lublin, and Poznan are enveloped in this ruin.

The University of Cracow, established in 1364, is one of the oldest in the world. Coupled with the Cracow Academy of Science and Letters, the university was the most important centre of Polish intellectual life. This was apparently reason enough why it should be singled out by the Nazis in their destructive activity, particularly since the General-Governor, Frank, was installed in the city as head of the Administration. The treatment accorded to its professors is already known. On the pretext that their presence was required at a conference, 170 professors were summoned to the University Hall. The chief of the Gestapo, one Meyer, addressed the professors in the German language. He declared that since they had tried to reopen the university without authority, had continued their work in its scientific institutions, and were arranging for examinations of the undergraduates without German permission all professors present in the hall were arrested.

The professors were deported to concentration camps in Germany, most of them to the camp of Sachsenhausen, near Oranienburg. The cavalcade was headed by one of the most famous polish scientists, Professor Ignacy Chrzanowski, the greatest living expert on Polish literature and author of many books. He died in Sachsenhausen recently, after having been cruelly treated for over three months. Among the others detained are men of such distinction as the famous jurist Professor Kutrzeba, a former rector of the university, seventy-six-years-old Professor Kostanecki, an eminent anatomist and a former rector; and the present rector of Cracow University, Professor Lehr-Splawinski, one of the foremost authorities in Slavonic philology, who was especially maltreated when arrested. Nine of the professors imprisoned in Sachsenhausen have died, but there is every reason to fear that the death-roll will not end with these nine victims of oppression.

The University of Warsaw, established in 1818, in which as many as 10,000 undergraduates were pursuing their studies before the invasion, has not been permitted to reopen. The buildings suffered severely during the bombardment of Warsaw and several members of the staff were killed. Such was the fate of Professor Sosnowski, one of the foremost students of Polish architecture, of Professor Lutostanski, a leading jurist, of Professor Konopacki, of the Faculty of Medicine; and of Dr Golabek, a lecturer in Slavonic sciences.

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Having occupied Warsaw, the Germans arrested several of the university professors. Among those imprisoned are the doyen of the faculty of Protestant theology, Pastor Bursche, one of the most distinguished representatives of the Protestant Church in Poland, and Professor Loth, the greatest Polish anatomist. Those who were not imprisoned have been warned by the Gestapo that they may expect at any moment to be sent to labour camps or be deported to concentration camps. Scientific papers of great value have been burned. Professor Lukasiewicz, a foremost authority in philosophy, saw his most valuable papers and the work of many years of scientific study burned and destroyed.

The university institutes have been robbed by the new occupants. Scientific installations and instruments have been dismantled, in some cases with the help of German professors brought from Germany for the purpose, and then transported to the Reich.

The University of Lublin, like that of Poznan, is an achievement of the restored Poland after the last War. Lublin was established in 1918 as a Catholic University, the only one of its kind in Central and Eastern Europe. The university building and the building of the library, which contained a valuable collection of Catholic archives, have been destroyed by air bombardment. The fate of most of the professors is unknown.

The University of Poznan, established in 1919, was the Polish spiritual centre in the territory bordering on Germany. Before war broke out Poznan University counted nearly 6,000 undergraduates. The Polish Government took special pride in furnishing it with modern scientific equipment and a comprehensive library. During the last three years two new buildings had been added to house the institutes of chemistry and anatomy.

Having decided on the outright annexation of the territory the invaders seem to have been particularly ruthless in destroying this Polish intellectual rallying point. Immediately after the entry of German troops into Poznan the Gestapo arrested nearly all those professors who had failed to escape their clutches. Some have been declared hostages, others have been deported to concentration camps or put into prisons. Among the arrested are such eminent people as Professor Bohdan Winiarski, an authority on international law and a member of many societies of international law all over the world, Professor Jan Bossowski, a jurist and

criminologist , Professor Zygmunt Wojciechowski, the historian , Professor Taylor, an economist of English extraction , Professor Paczkowski, an authority on the civil code , Professor Smosarski, a meteorologist ; and Professor Tymieniecki, a leading historian All these have suffered cruel treatment at the hands of the Gestapo Some were too old or too weak to stand the ordeal Among those who have died was the famous Polish historian, Professor Bronislaw Dembinski, well known in England since his promotion as Doctor *honoris causa* by the University of Oxford nine years ago Professor Cwiklinski, well over 70, a Minister of Education in Vienna in the days of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, has become demented Those dons who have been released from imprisonment have now been compelled to leave Poznan with the millions of Poles expelled from that territory annexed by the Germans into Central Poland. The University itself is closed All the collections and instruments, as well as the library and even the private libraries of the professors, have been confiscated

In this campaign against the mind the Nazis show themselves as ruthless as they were when over-running the body of Poland

WARSAW TO-DAY

PESTILENCE AND POVERTY

From THE TIMES of March 27, 1940

WITH 1,600 houses razed to the ground and 4,000 in ruins, Warsaw is a tragic city The lively capital, beloved six months ago by all visitors for its excellent food, its elegant restaurants and cafés, its wide clean streets, its handsome palaces and churches, has suddenly aged and become a town of ill-clad and starving people, of pestilence, and hopeless poverty.

With a ton of coal costing nearly £8, the main problem during the severe winter has been heating. Coal in ordinary quantities was unobtainable, and people had to buy small buckets of it after standing for hours in long queues. Houses with central heating suffered most, because they were left to their own fate, while their inhabitants had to content themselves with inefficient electrical stoves or oil lamps. The only places where the much-tried Varsovian could warm himself was a café, packed usually to capacity, where he could get imitation tea or corn-coffee and perhaps a cake.

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In the absence of wireless sets, which were ruthlessly confiscated, and with the Press rigidly controlled, these cafés became the only clearing-houses of information. Contrary to expectation, they have increased in number, as they provide one of the few legitimate means of making a living for those who happen to have a stock of tea or coffee, sugar, and flour. Celebrated actors, journalists, and professional men serve in them as waiters and every one is welcome, even if he does not order anything.

If you want to know what is going on, who is dead or alive, or where to buy coal, potatoes, cigarettes, or if you want to sell



an overcoat or ring or to exchange one thing for another, you walk into the nearest café. But this newly found "trade" is not confined to cafés—it spreads to all streets and squares, in spite of rigid German regulations that no one should peddle foodstuffs. With shops, big and small, gradually emptying and closing down on account of the impossibility of obtaining fresh supplies, the number of street peddlers, hawkers, and salesmen, professional and amateur, has increased by leaps and bounds. Almost every one with any kind of means goes into this business, shoelaces may be exchanged for tinned goods, a hat for a packet of bacon, and so on.

Another great Warsaw problem is transport. All taxis and private cars were destroyed during the campaign, and only a few tram and bus lines are in operation, so that the inhabitant of Warsaw has become a champion walker. A handful of horse-driven droszkies and peasant carts serve as the only means of

passenger transport in a town which once prided itself on its smart motor-cars.

Thousands of educated and professional men, and Government and municipal employees, artists, writers, engineers, and school teachers have been at one stroke deprived of all chance of making a living. Most factories have reduced their staffs by eighty or ninety per cent. If there is a possibility of restarting a factory it usually leaks out that the Germans have commandeered or dismantled the machinery.

No day passes without the complete disappearance from shops and bazaars of some material or stock of goods. Toilet soap is practically unobtainable, while ordinary soap costs 3s. a lb. Prices are soaring with frightening rapidity, and even when available such commodities as shoes and clothes have ceased to be within the means of ordinary people. Deprived of coal, Poles during the winter had to sleep and work in their coats, which are therefore wearing out more quickly.

The process of removing the traces of damage done by the bombardment has already begun. Houses which threaten to collapse are being pulled down, but the builders take good care that no good bricks or beams are wasted. The Germans have given strict orders to remove from the city squares and greens all haphazard graves dug during the bombardment. At one time there was hardly an open place without its impromptu cemetery, and often the typical Warsaw house courtyards were used for this sad purpose.

The Germans have ordered the collection of all metal parts, which are carefully stored and exported to Germany. Water, gas, and electrical plants are gradually being restored, but it will take many months before they are all in good order. Only the privileged can now enjoy gas stoves or electric light. Warsaw needs no black-out.

As tram and bus services are not operating, most Varsovians prefer to live in the centre of the town, and they are eager to let their suburban villas. Inside the town the overcrowding is terrible. Families herd together in very few rooms, and lodgers are accepted only on condition that they pay the whole rent and provide the fuel. Meanwhile, the population of Warsaw will continue to increase as Poles driven from western Poland come to settle there.

NEW WAVE OF REPRESSION

A DIVISION OF WARSAW

From THE TIMES of October 22, 1940.

A GERMAN decree was issued on October 17 by which Warsaw has been divided into three residential areas, one for the Germans, one for the Poles, and one for the Jews.

The best part has, of course, been reserved for the Germans. The whole of the south-east quarter, with its parks and avenues, its promenade along the Vistula, its large modern houses, and the many palaces of the Polish nobles built at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, has been assigned to the invaders.

The Jewish quarter is on the north-west, between the main railway station, the Sazon Garden, and the Danzig station. An enclosing wall with only a few gates will give this quarter the isolated character of a ghetto.

The rest of the city is left for the Poles. Before the war, of the 1,200,000 inhabitants of Warsaw, the Poles numbered over 800,000, the Jews a little over 300,000. There were no Germans, but there are now about 50,000 of them, half being Civil servants and half troops and Gestapo men.

The Poles and Jews are required to settle down in their respective quarters within a fortnight. They may not move any of their furniture except beds, household linen, and personal effects.

German newspapers in Poland have announced the complete extermination of illegal anti-Nazi organizations by the execution as traitors of four Germans named Hoffmann, Schulz, Tosch, and Chill, from Danzig. It is alleged that the organization was started before the war for the purpose of undermining German military power and Nazi organizations both in Poland and within the Reich, and mention is made of high explosives, terrorism, and sabotage, but details are not given except that the Danzig police discovered the conspiracy some time ago, and "rendered harmless" other members of the organization. The execution is also recorded of three Poles who are alleged to have broken into a grocer's premises.

Wireless "crimes" continue apparently to increase, or the authorities are prosecuting more strictly. A newspaper records

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the prosecution of eight listeners, all men, who have been sentenced to imprisonment ranging from a year to 30 months for persistently and intentionally listening to Polish broadcasts from foreign stations.

Gauleiter Greiser has announced that the Warthegau Polish district has already delivered to Germany 700,000 tons of bread and grain from the harvest of 1940, adding that these provinces under Polish rule never managed to export more than 200,000 tons in any year

The *Ostdeutscher Beobachter* records a further extension of Germans' privileges over Poles in the distribution of rations, enabling them to receive certain commodities within certain hours on any day of the week, whereas Poles must be served only at other hours and only on one specified week-day. The announcement urges Germans to utilize the privilege strictly to facilitate the real differentiation between Germans and Poles

POLISH FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

GENERAL SIKORSKI'S DECLARATION OF NATIONAL FAITH

FOUNDATIONS OF THE FUTURE STATE

From THE TIMES of August 31, 1940

At the end of the first year German brutality and Polish courage are alike undiminished. Treachery in beginning the war, terrorism in following it up, has been the Hitler technique. A year ago this evening—while the German Government were self-righteously issuing their "peace plan"—a telegram reached Warsaw from Danzig: "Informed that German detachments have crossed frontier from East Prussia." That was the first warning. At eight the next morning, a year ago to-morrow, Hitler was telling his Reichstag that he was not going to wage war on women and children. Before the day was out his first victims were being buried, hundreds of women and children had been killed with bombs and machine-gun bullets from low-flying aircraft. In

twelve hours the Germans had attacked sixty-four districts and towns entirely without defences and away from military targets. On the frontiers the Polish armies had begun their heroic and desperate fight, outnumbered four to one in men, about twenty to one in aeroplanes, twenty to one in tanks.

The passing of the first year finds the Germans and the Poles steadfastly at the task which each side has set itself. As the Germans began in Poland, so they have gone on, constant only in terrorism. The approach of the anniversary brings news of a fresh outbreak of executions and arrests in many parts of Poland, sure and typical signs of the German annoyance at their inability to find either a Quisling or a Baudoin ready to form a puppet Government. These twelve months have made the nature of the German task clear to all. It is to keep the Poles broken, to smash their spirit if they can, to reduce them to serfdom.

On the Polish side the chosen task is no less clear. While in Poland the people by countless acts of defiance are preserving the soul of independence within the benumbed body, the Polish soldiers abroad are preparing to fight afresh for their country's resurrection. While Hitler is observing the anniversary with fresh arrests, General Sikorski is just as significantly spending this weekend with his thousands of soldiers in Great Britain, the stalwart body of men who were among the last to leave the field in Poland, the last to leave in France, and who in a matter of days will be taking over a large and important coastal sector in the defence of Great Britain.

Before he left to join his men General Sikorski, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, spoke frankly of his plans and hopes in quiet conversation at his London headquarters. His sole thought is to fight and work for a new Poland, free, democratic, worthy of the people's qualities of courage, loyalty, and sacrifice for the common weal. Any who for lack of knowledge thought that the old Warsaw *clique* were typical of the Polish people may be reassured in contact with this quiet, scholarly, strong-minded soldier. We talked first of the spirit and determination of the Polish people. Did he believe that there had been any change in their bearing after a year of brutal oppression at home and of adversity abroad?

I know that there has been no change (he replied). When their independence was first assaulted last September the Polish

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people without hesitation took up the unequal fight, although themselves feebly and insufficiently armed. Anyone who knows the Polish nation, with its fervent loyalty, its deep sense of religion, and its powers of endurance, will know that though their territory is temporarily occupied their hearts and minds are still turned to freedom.

It was true, General Sikorski went on, that his people's hopes were turned largely to the great land forces of France. After the collapse of France some observers might have expected some hesitation, some waverings, some doubts, in the Polish ranks at home.

There was none. The Germans, as we know, tried to exploit the collapse of France by redoubling their efforts to set up a puppet Government. But the spirit of the people was so resolute that even if a small acquiescent group had been found they would have been disowned and spurned by the solid mass of their own people. All are now working closely together. The old distinctions of class have broken down, and peasants and workers are valiantly sheltering and helping—without thought of reward—the members of the *intelligentsia* against whom the main German terror was first directed. We also know that the wireless broadcasts from here in Polish are eagerly heard in all parts wherever a set can be hidden, and they are much discussed. All the reports reaching us show that the people have confidence in their legal Government. That is our mandate, our responsibility.

We then talked of the Polish fight a year ago. Verdicts had much changed since the world had seen how comparatively little other nations had done against the German forces. What, I asked, were his own views?

The first part of our military task (he said) was to give time for the French to mobilize and for the British to send their Expeditionary Force oversea. In military language we were to act as the vanguard, whose duty often is to sacrifice itself and to screen the forces behind. It is clear that we fulfilled that task to the utmost limit of sacrifice. We were surprised by the Germans on the first day of our mobilization, so that we had scarcely more men with the Colours than in peace time. Against us we had 73 divisions, all well armed, and 16 mechanized divisions. We had 30 divisions and 200 tanks. We were attacked by an overwhelmingly superior air force. We had 320 aeroplanes. In spite of the odds we fought on from September 1 until October 6, when the defeat of our last Army Corps under General Kleeberg put an end to organized resistance.

EUROPE UNDER THE NAZI SCOURGE

How stern was our fight may be seen in figures—not before published—issued by the Red Cross in Switzerland, a neutral authority In round figures 100,000 Germans were killed 200,000 were wounded A thousand German aeroplanes were lost, together with about 1,000 tanks

Tribute has even been paid by the Germans themselves German prisoners taken by the Polish Highland Brigade in Norway and by others in France said that all German soldiers recognized that the only real war they had had so far had been in Poland It was there, they said, that they met firm resistance such as they are now meeting from the British The German veterans of the Polish campaign are considered by the German High Command as their best, their most seasoned, troops German officers have from time to time declared that the Polish troops, man for man, were equal to the *elite* among the Germans

General Sikorski went on to say that he knew that British resistance and determination would be unshaken Against Great Britain, with greater resources than Poland possessed, the Germans were having their second real war “I can hardly express how much I admire the moral solidarity of the British people—their calmness and their courage in the bombing raids so far” I then asked the Commander-in-Chief what in his view were the immediate tasks of the Polish forces abroad

Their ultimate task, of course (he said), is to be re-formed in Poland At the moment they are the cadres on which the larger army in Poland will be based In France I was on the point of having six really strong divisions to put in the field Unfortunately much of that work came to an end with the French collapse We are beginning again with smaller forces in Great Britain with the same ultimate aim in view But there is a second aim—theoretically in contradiction with the first I believe that the heroic resistance of the Polish people in Poland after a year of oppression gives me the moral right to put this second task first, and I am certainly determined to fulfil it completely It is to maintain to the full the continuity of the Polish armed effort, to maintain the fight for freedom on every front

It was not simply (he went on) to recreate a military legend, such as Poland has always had in the past We must show the Western Powers, especially Great Britain, that they can place the utmost confidence in a country which so far has been little known to them. We want to show by fidelity in fighting that they can rely on the Polish word That is partly why we were the last to leave the battlefield in France We kept our faith And you may be sure that we shall keep our faith here in Great Britain.

Within a short time now our land forces will be taking up their positions in an important sector of the British shores At their side, inspired with the same spirit, are our naval units and our air force, which King George highly praised when he visited it the other day.

Lastly we turned to the future. It is early to talk of war aims, but I asked the Commander-in-Chief how he visualized the

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resurrection of Poland What constitutional form should the future Poland adopt? He smiled —

I don't merely visualize the resurrection of Poland I am convinced, firmly convinced, that it will come This conviction is based both on the resistance of the Polish people and on the marvellous spirit among the British people as they face the enemy and as they develop the great resources of their Empire These resources, as well as the people's resolution, cannot fail to bring victory For the rest, what is quite certain is that Europe cannot afford to be plunged into blood every 20 years. We must establish an order which, while not repeating the mistakes of former treaties, ensures a durable peace Everything goes to prove that the centre, the focus, of the war spirit in Europe is in Germany—whence the Kaiser was chased only to give place to Hitler No sentimental reasons ought to shield Germany, who if left without some safeguards will only begin again

That, the General declared, was what might be called the negative side of the problem On the positive side, we had to create some basis of collaboration in Europe that would make possible the maintenance of a durable peace.

In my view it is not necessary to search for a new form of collaboration The most perfect example of international cooperation is to be found in the British Commonwealth, with its diverse peoples and its far-flung possessions, united in free understanding Naturally the principle could not be applied flatly to Europe, but in the British Commonwealth I see the nearest thing to an example

General Sikorski added that he invited his soldiers continually to look around and learn while in Great Britain

I appeal to soldiers and refugees to use their stay here in understanding something of the British ways and in learning from them , and I ask them on their side to try to show by their bearing what the Polish people really are, in order that the lack of knowledge about the true Poland may be overcome The Poland we should recreate would be fully democratic and, I hope, imbued with a true Christian spirit. Freedom would not merely be a word There would be full freedom for all political parties, without giving room for anarchy In the social field there would be far-reaching reforms Economically and socially we should rebuild from the roots—a task which unhappily has been simplified by the fact that everyone in Poland has now become a pauper The former possessing classes have had all taken away from them It is from that basis that we shall rebuild a worthy and a free Poland

As we shook hands General Sikorski said that he would like again to say how much he had been impressed with the calmness, almost the indifference to danger, of the British people under fire. He had been in some fairly heavy bombings since coming here, and he could see for himself how unruffled the people had been.

EUROPE UNDER THE NAZI SCOURGE

The next thing I admire (he concluded) is the tremendous organization in this country's war effort. In A R P I have seen how rapidly any losses have been made good. One thing is clear—the Germans have no monopoly of either bravery or organization. In fact to show how great can be the voluntary discipline and the organization under democracy is the best remedy against totalitarianism.

THE POLISH SPIRIT OF RESISTANCE

“NOT TO SURRENDER IS VICTORY”

A GROWING RECORD OF GERMAN INGENUITY IN OPPRESSION

From THE TIMES of October 28, 1940

“To suffer defeat and not to surrender is victory” This is the headline of a leading article dated August 20 in a newspaper secretly published in Warsaw. Both form and contents do honour to those responsible for it. A newspaper, indeed! There is no room for trifles in one produced and read in danger of life. Foreign news fills most of the columns, for all hope is centred abroad while at home there is nothing but suffering; suffering and the will to hold out.

In a country under enemy occupation (the article says) the struggle cannot be carried on with arms, but must consist in awakening the spirit of resistance, which will preclude despair and apathy, and will make us do the work of the nation, be it under the hardest conditions . . . This is now our main strength, and the enemy knows it, though he professes to sneer at it. Remember that “to suffer defeat and not to surrender is victory”

That number, the twenty-sixth published, starts and concludes with a reminder to the readers that September 1 is the anniversary of the outbreak of war. Of this the Poles were, anyhow, to be reminded by the Germans, who celebrate anniversaries in their own national calendar, as well as in that of the Poles, by preventive or punitive arrests.

An alleged massacre of *Volksdeutsche* in the first days of the war had been a favourite official excuse for atrocious persecutions. Accordingly, for the anniversary, mass processions were arranged to the graves of the “martyrs”, in certain towns Poles were

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warned off the streets ; and there were new trials and executions Nowhere had the Fifth Column been more numerous and more active than in Poland, and in Bromberg, where the local Germans had risen prematurely in revolt, there had been street fighting But even there the Germans killed could not have been many, as the number of their dependents in receipt of pensions is 537 The total of German spies and insurgents killed in the whole of Poland amounted to a few hundred, but it grows posthumously through the Nazi technique of attributing their own performances to the opposite side. To begin with, the Germans themselves talked of 5,000 "victims", now the smallest number ever mentioned is



50,000 , and every unidentifiable corpse (of which there are many in Poland) has a good chance of being made into an unknown *Volksdeutsche* by the "Central Office for the Graves of Murdered Germans" (Compare, for instance, the find at Kruszwica, reported in the *Litzmannstädter Zeitung* of September 12) Indeed, cases are known of the corpses of executed Poles being photographed as those of "murdered" Germans

In June the number of executions in Warsaw alone amounted to 290, in July and August it was even greater , in September among 100 executed were twenty women These figures are computed from quasi-legal proceedings, and do not include direct murders by the Gestapo, nor the victims of torture and ill-treatment in prisons and concentration camps. Occasionally the news of the death of an eminent man reaches wider circles.

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Thus it is now known that M. Rataj, a leader of the Peasants Party and Speaker of the Polish Parliament of 1922-28, a man of mild, conciliatory manners but of an independent character, died "suddenly" while being "cross-examined" by the Gestapo To describe the fate of the Polish prisoners at Dachau, Asch, Buchenwald, Oranienburg, and elsewhere would be merely to repeat the story of tortures practised for years on Jews and political opponents. But as these horrors are being continually repeated and extended, the silence of weariness and disgust must not be allowed to cover them Here is a passage from a reliable report recently received in London.—

Civil prisoners are made to work sixteen hours a day, with half an hour for a scanty meal While at work they are not allowed to rest Older and weaker men succumb in a short time Moreover, they are tortured, often just for fun, by warders chosen from among ex-criminals and select sadists For instance, water is poured from a rubber hose for an hour into the mouth, eyes, nose, or the abdomen of the victim Or he is rolled to and fro over stones Terrible beatings are applied If someone's reaction, say his way of groaning, amuses these hangmen, the torture is prolonged, it is stopped when the man seems near death, and afterwards it is resumed I have had such accounts from many sides, and they all agree as to the life and tortures in the concentration camps Similar methods are applied in prisons Of witnesses, if they survive, there will be tens of thousands who, when their lips are unsealed, will tell the story of that most gruesome product of humanity, Nazi Germany

The fear which these conditions evoke is both a method of governing and a means for financial extortions Besides individual arrests, there are man hunts on a wider scale A few streets or whole districts are surrounded by members of the police, the Gestapo, and the *Selbstschutz* (an organization of local Germans), and Poles and Jews caught in that net are combed out Such a catch on a large scale was organized in Warsaw on Monday, August 12 In the course of it about a dozen people were shot dead while trying to escape, and afterwards many thousands were deported from Warsaw ; some reports put the number as high as 20,000 Most of them were sent either to work on fortifications along the Soviet frontier or for agricultural work to Germany ; a certain number were taken to concentration camps, and regarding some it has so far been impossible to obtain any information.

The most shocking of all "catches" are those of young girls for German military camps.—

News to that effect is continually circulating, and even were it untrue, it would be a torture for parents of young girls But it can hardly be doubted. From letters received from peasant girls taken for "agricultural work" in

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Germany it appears that some have been really taken to German brothels There are "catches" arranged by groups of Gestapo men in motor-cars in the streets of Warsaw It is enough to look at the advertisement columns of the German-controlled Press every day under "Missing" appear names of women aged sixteen to twenty, who left their house on such and such a day and have failed to return

These are outstanding horrors in a life which is anyhow a nightmare No wonder that the collapse of France, which meant that the hope of a speedy release was gone, has had a crushing effect on great numbers of people, especially of the older generations There have been among them numerous suicides and deaths from heart failure The younger people, according to all the accounts, keep up an amazing spirit There is anti-German sabotage in Poland, sabotage is sometimes practised by Poles even in Germany (thus, for instance, the *Thorner Freiheit* of September 12 reports the death sentence on a Polish workman at Hanover for trying to destroy a railway truck and to set fire to a wood). The hatred of the Germans is growing everywhere

At first the Germans tried to operate with anti-Semitism and a kind of agrarian Bolshevism, but by now neither works any more, especially as the Germans, in order to increase the production of food and to be able easily to seize it, are maintaining or even restoring the big estates, though not for the benefit of Polish landowners According to the *Warschauer Zeitung* of August 20, Gauleiter Greiser of the Warthegau visited old-settled German villages in the district of Radom (in Central Poland), and "everywhere the *Volksdeutsch* peasantry expressed to him their wish to be removed to the Reich" Are they beginning to feel uneasy in the Polish surroundings in which they have lived so long? So much is certain, that from the farthest Eastern districts of the General-Gouvernement—Lublin, Lubartow, and Chelm—some 30,000 German peasants are being removed this month to the Western districts, "integrally annexed" to Germany There are shufflings of population, some of which are not easy to interpret

One kind of removal has an undoubtedly cheering effect on the Polish population that which bears witness to the increasing effectiveness and range of the R.A.F attacks First, the dismantling of some Polish industries was arrested; now certain German works are being transferred to Poland It is reported, for instance, that an aero-engine factory is being moved from Kassel to Rzeszow, in West Galicia Also the range of the black-outs is spreading a complete black-out was ordered at Torun (Thorn)

from October 1, and a partial one at Kalisz. If air raids should follow, they will be welcomed by the population: the fear of death is not with them what it is with people living in more normal conditions, and the coming of Allied aeroplanes would signify to them that they are no longer beyond the reach of their friends and of their own pilots serving in the R.A.F. There is the story of the man who rejoiced when he saw his own house in flames, because "the bed-bugs were burning." It will be a happy day for many people in sorely tried Poland when bombs begin to fall on Germans in their midst, even if non-German victims cannot be avoided.

Studies in Falsehood

From THE TIMES of March 16, 1940

Proof of Nazi treachery and falsehood can no longer command the interest of novelty. Indeed evidence of one honest statement or one solemn engagement fulfilled would to-day be considered more worthy of remark, and perhaps we should be on our guard because Hitler is now in a position to proceed to that second degree of mendacity whereby the liar, having established his reputation as such, is enabled to achieve a subtler kind of deceit by unexpectedly telling the truth. But although the documents in the Polish White-book, published to-day, confirm in all its ugly details the portrait of Hitler and Hitlerism drawn in the British Blue-book and the French Yellow-book, the picture has the additional vividness of a "close-up" representation. Hitler has told the Poles more lies and bigger lies than he has told to us, and he has used falsehood to prepare the way for more monstrous and immediate outrage.

The Polish documents cover the whole period since the Nazi Revolution of 1933. Early in the series comes the Polish-German Declaration of 1934, by which both parties undertook "in no circumstances to proceed to the application of force" to any disputes that might arise between them. This agreement was binding until 1944, and of course made no provision for the unilateral repudiation of his pledged word for which Hitler eventually sought a pretext in the British guarantee of Polish independence. But even before that, having the fate of the Munich agreement before them, the Poles would certainly have placed no reliance on a Nazi bond, were it not that for the entire seven years of Hitler's domination they had been receiving

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frequent and explicit assurances that the whole trend of Nazi policy was directed against Soviet Russia and claimed the support of Poland as a natural ally in that cause "Any war," said the Führer, who on this occasion, in 1933, described himself as "a pacifist," "would only result in bringing Communism to Europe, the Communism which is a terrible danger, and against which the Chancellor never ceases to fight Poland is an outpost against Asia" That attitude was maintained, in German-Polish diplomatic intercourse, year after year, with the rhetorical insistence of "Mein Kampf" "The very fact that Schleicher had helped to build up the Soviet military power was ample justification for the end that befell him"—which was murder In comparison with the joint mission of Germans and Poles to maintain the frontier of civilization against the Oriental, the questions of Danzig and the Corridor were "of no importance whatever"—until they suddenly became an intolerable grievance, justifying every violence and outrage in 1939 Even in January of that year, in Hitler's opinion, "the community of interests between Germany and Poland, so far as Russia was concerned, was complete"

Hitler's excuse for turning upon Poland and destroying what he had so frequently proclaimed as the necessary bulwark of Europe against Communism was that the Poles, having previously been quite content to acquiesce in the German proposals for Danzig and the Corridor, were induced to adopt an intransigent and bellicose policy as partners in "encirclement" under the Anglo-French guarantee Chronology, however, is the most dangerous pitfall for a liar, and these documents show conclusively that the Polish Ambassador in Berlin was instructed, within a month of Munich and long before the guarantee was offered, to tell the Führer that Poland would fight rather than submit to deprivation of her rights. What really induced the Nazis to throw off the mask when they did was, no doubt, the progress of the negotiations with the untouchable Asiatics in Moscow. The Poles have also their unhappy experience to relate of dealings with these slippery conspirators It is similar in its main tenor, but where Hitler set out to delude with torrents of insincere rhetoric, Stalin seems generally to have preferred a brief, cold, and deliberate lie In May last year, for instance, Colonel Beck was assured that, in case his country was involved in armed conflict with Germany, the Soviet would adopt *une attitude bienveillante* towards Poland In July Count Szembek

was told explicitly by the Soviet Ambassador that the rumoured Soviet-German negotiations were not taking place ; but six weeks later the Ribbentrop Pact was announced, and the German representative in Bucharest blurted out that it had been under discussion for two and a half months, and that all details had been settled for some time Finally, on September 4, after war had begun, the same Ambassador declared that the Soviet " did not wish to have frontiers with totalitarian States " ; within the month Hitler and Stalin were partitioning Poland between them. Whether Pecksniff or Ananias is the less attractive character is a question of taste ; but they must find one another embarrassing partners.

Poland Resurgent

From THE TIMES of August 6, 1940

The cause for which Great Britain is fighting was morally and materially reinforced when an Anglo-Polish Military Agreement was signed at 10, Downing Street yesterday. As if to emphasize the importance of the compact both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary signed it on behalf of Great Britain, and General Sikorski and his Foreign Minister, M. Zaleski, on behalf of Poland. The agreement reaffirms the determination of the two Governments to pursue the war, cost what it will, to a victorious conclusion, and to secure the liberation of the subjugated nations. It is an emphatic declaration of confidence as well as of high resolve , and it corresponds with the spirit of the two peoples, whom no barbarities and no menaces have cowed The concentrated brutality of the Gestapo has not succeeded in producing a traitor Government in Poland The groans of national martyrs are heard in its concentration camps, but no single echo of the voice of Quisling

And the active support which the agreement rededicates to the Allied cause implies valuable military reinforcement It has long since been realized that the resistance of Poland to the Nazi forces for four weeks last autumn was a notable military performance, if the methods of the Germans and the relative preparedness and equipment of the two sides are taken into proper account. More is known now than eleven months ago about the terrific striking power of the Nazi machine and of Hitler's utter unscrupulousness in exploiting it Last September it was still not generally understood that the last-minute broadcasting of proposals for a peaceful settlement was merely a screen behind

which to throw troops and aeroplanes across the frontier. The full fury of dive bombers and massed tanks burst upon the Poles before they knew that they were at war. Their mobilization could never be properly completed because of the systematic bombing of centres and railway junctions. The higher command was never from the first in full communication with its outlying armies. The invaders were supported by a well-trained body of Germans, for long years the guests of the country, who had been preparing, under the cloak of a non-aggression pact, to stab Poland in the back. In spite of all these handicaps, and a serious inferiority of numbers and material, the Poles put up a desperate resistance, proved that they were more than a match for the Germans man for man, and refused to surrender their capital until they were completely overwhelmed by men and machines.

The same spirit, without any doubt, animates the renewed Polish forces which on land, in the air, and at sea will fight side by side with the British. Though the number of their sailors is very small, they have shown in one or two minor exploits that their quality is second to none, and the same applies to the airmen, whose cooperation will be particularly welcome in the months that lie ahead. The Air Force personnel will be treated on the same footing as the personnel of the R.A.F. and their units will be employed in the same manner. So far as circumstances permit they will operate in national formations and will be used, when the time comes, in support of the Polish Army. Many of the airmen have already distinguished themselves in France. The infantry have performed well not only there but also in Norway, and some are being brought back from the Middle East to swell the numbers of the new national army. They will be under Polish command and their separate units will all be commanded by Polish officers. But, just as the British Army in France was under the general direction of the French Grand Quartier Général, so the whole Polish forces will be under British command in the character, which it has taken over from France, of the Allied High Command.

Soldiers and airmen alike will take an oath of allegiance to the Polish Republic, and the deepest significance—at any rate from the Polish point of view—of yesterday's ceremony is that it is an earnest of the reconstitution of a free Polish Republic. This war, like the last, is primarily a war of emancipation, and, still more than the last, of liberation of the spirit. Even now it is not easy to realize how hideously the Nazi régime has crushed free thought.

wherever it has penetrated, how viciously it has suppressed the good and encouraged the ignoble even in countries which its armies have not reached, how cruelly it has imprisoned the soul Poland has the agony and the honour of knowing these things better than any other nation ; for the Nazis have followed up their military conquest with a peculiarly vindictive persecution of the best minds and the noblest characters among those who fell under their dominion. But Poland gives also the most moving example of the spiritual courage which no catastrophe can daunt Her history is a long alternation of triumph and disaster , and it may be hoped that recent experience will perhaps have suggested warnings which will help to make her next triumph more truly enduring than any that has preceded it

Destroying a Nation

From THE TIMES of October 28, 1940

If ever any man may be said to have tried to murder a nation history will draw up this terrible bill of indictment against Adolf Hitler, and even if no other wickedness could be imputed to him his treatment of the Polish race would give him a place of his own in the records of political crime He organized a mass assault upon Poland during a long period, for part of which he was her partner in a pact of non-aggression He retained the element of surprise in its execution by carrying on diplomatic negotiations which are now known to have been no more than a feint ; and since he overpowered this gallant people his agents have systematically murdered, enslaved, despoiled, and scattered them First of all the intellectual leaders were imprisoned and many of them done to death ; for the German knows how large a part cultural leadership plays in a national life which for a century and a half had no external form Professors, artists, writers, and scientists were sure to become, as in time past, the rallying-points of national sentiment after the new partition of Poland in 1939 This was the more certain because the military and political leaders of the short-lived independent Republic revived by Pilsudski had either fallen on the field of battle or been driven abroad They were therefore eliminated , and, with them, from that day to this thousands of Poles have been executed or tortured to death for having exerted themselves to keep the national spirit alive or opposed the régime of their oppressors The murders of the Gestapo are often retrospective, as in the case

of the famous actor Wegrzyn, whose crime was to have played the role, when Poland was free, of Battler in Mr Bernard Shaw's play *Geneva*. The article which we publish to-day records many other instances. Hundreds are still being put to death for having, during the period of actual warfare, killed or arrested the Germans living in Poland who aided the incoming German armies. Among about a hundred persons executed last month twenty were women.

These monstrous crimes against humanity are only part of the Nazi rage against the Poles. Thousands of them have been carried off to work for their hated masters in Germany. Others have been transported to another part of Poland to suit the convenience of incoming Germans, for part of the deliberate system of the conqueror is to populate the country with Germans. Germans are being brought in from Bessarabia and Bukovina and settled in farms stolen from Poles and supplied with cattle stolen from the Dutch and Danes. To the rule of terrorism and brutality the Nazis add, so far as they can, perversion of the mind. Higher education is banned altogether. The Polish people—what is left of them—are to be helots, and they must not be taught to think. The universities and the high schools have been closed. Private teaching is forbidden. Only elementary and commercial schools are kept open, and in them the teaching of Polish history has been distorted. Truth is being expunged from the records of the past as unscrupulously as it is being suppressed in the news of the present. It is needless to say that to listen to Polish broadcasts from foreign stations is a heavily punishable crime, and it is needless to record afresh the ghastly treatment which is meted out to Jews, merely for being Jews, because this horror is well known from its infliction wherever Nazi rule penetrates. In Warsaw the Jews are now confined within a ghetto. The Polish inhabitants of the capital have also been allotted a particular district, the best part, that which borders on the Vistula, is reserved for the Germans. It is hard to conceive any methods by which the Germans could better ensure that they should be hated and better prove their utter unsuitability to be the accepted masters of Europe. So long as the worth of the spiritual life is cherished by mankind, the Nazi methods of subjugation will be held in abhorrence and the courage of the Poles in this period of deep affliction will be honoured and sustained. Even if no other motives were present, the freedom-loving nations of the world would still feel impelled to defeat Hitler and Hitlerism and free Poland from its most hideous tyranny.

IV

GERMAN PLUNDER OF DENMARK

FATE OF A FAMOUS AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST EXPLOITATION

From THE TIMES of August 30, 1940

LITTLE has been heard of Denmark since that grey morning in April when German aeroplanes droned low over the rooftops of Copenhagen and mechanized columns crossed the land frontier and forced Denmark to surrender after a few hours' fighting. More spectacular shows were soon afterwards staged on the European scene, and Denmark disappeared from the limelight. Occasionally news penetrates the German embargo on truth to confirm the fears and conclusions of Danes in exile.

Conditions in Denmark hardly compare with those in any other occupied territory. King Christian and the Stauning Government perform their duties as before and exert an influence on internal questions which is by no means negligible. This outburst of tolerance is so alien to Nazi conceptions that observers may be excused if they search for possible reasons. The first is that the Germans feel they can well afford to keep Denmark as a show-piece to demonstrate to other "neutrals" that life may be quite happy inside the German *Lebensraum*. The second and more important explanation is found in the Danish agricultural system. The secret of Danish agriculture is just that extra little touch of keenness which the farmer and smallholder put into their work. They are skilled workers in a finely adjusted industrial machine. The Nazis know that without the active cooperation of the farmers Danish agriculture will quickly deteriorate into bankruptcy. Danish soil is kept in its excellent condition only by the untiring skill of the farmer.

The main question therefore is, will Germany secure the active support of the Danish farmer? Nobody outside the Reich doubts that the answer will be in the negative. Nazis dealing with a

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weaker opponent seem to believe in their irresistible attraction Nothing is left undone to win over the Danes German soldiers of occupation have orders to behave decently and have probably done so From September 1 on they are even to pay for what they take in Danish currency The *ersatz* money ("credit coupons") profoundly suspected by the Danish farmers and shopkeepers is being abolished.

Much trouble has been taken to conceal the wholesale plunder of the country behind elaborate trade agreements If the Danes were ever under any misapprehension as to whether the Germans



would pay for what they took away, they were bluntly disillusioned by their own Minister of Commerce, Hr Christmas Moller, who a fortnight ago declared that the German debt to Denmark on the trade account had risen by 800,000,000 kr in four months, and he hardly concealed his doubt that this debt would ever be paid

Most Danes are resisting the Nazis quietly but in a spirit of unbreakable resolution. Their resistance may not be spectacular, but it will prove efficient in the long run From the beginning they

showed their hostility to Nazi ideas, whether imported or home-grown. The peasant organization L S (*Landbrugernes Sammenslutning*), which used to flirt with Nazi ideas, was cold-shouldered when it tried to force a Government crisis in agreement with the small Danish Nazi party. In reply the four big political parties, representing 90 per cent of the electorate, formed a National Government. The Nazis got their own back when more than 150 of them were arrested in Copenhagen for wearing Nazi dress contrary to the strict ban on political uniforms. Most of them were imprisoned for several weeks, and later one of their leaders was sentenced to thirty days in prison for attempting to hold a political meeting without police permission. The Germans closed their eyes to these penalties.

The only political concession so far made to the Wilhelmstrasse is the appointment of Hr. Scavenius as Foreign Minister instead of Dr Munch, the ardent believer in disarmament and neutrality. Hr Scavenius hastened to pay lip-service to the "new order" in Europe, but seems to have overdone it, for nothing has been heard of him since. On the surface Denmark is quiet, but the country is in ferment. Hr Stauning, the Socialist Prime Minister, had recently to come to the microphone again to warn the public against provoking fights with German troops or dragging them into heated political discussions. He also warned children against the dangerous habit of cutting German field telephone wires. His speech was occasioned by an incident which cost a number of young men long terms of penal servitude for a trivial beer-hall fight with German soldiers.

There is evidence of the economic effect of British blockade and of German exploitation. The Danish population, predominantly employed in agriculture, cannot in itself be starved as long as there is a pig in the sty or a plot of rye on the acre. Otherwise the effect of the blockade is tremendous. There are no private cars on the road. All common commodities are rationed, and the Minister of Commerce has foreshadowed rationing of milk in this former land of plenty. As no fodder can be imported the Government has ordered a reduction of the livestock by 750,000 head of cattle, 1,500,000 pigs, and 7,000,000 poultry. The invaders are anxious to buy, but are met with profound suspicion from the farmers, who do not believe in exchanging their pedigree animals for doubtful credits in Berlin. Last week the Danish Ministry of Agriculture announced that it would buy 12,000 head

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of cattle a week for export to Germany They raised the price to make the offer more attractive

The farmers find it revolting to submit to the swift destruction of an agricultural system which they and their fathers have built up They are required to support the creation of a new agricultural order in Denmark as a self-sufficient corn-growing State, fed on artificial fertilizers from the subjugated neighbour Norway, with cattle and pigs reduced to a minimum This is a reversion to early nineteenth-century agriculture

In this hopeless picture of economic disaster, underlined by a steadily growing unemployment, there is a ray of light which must warm the heart of any Dane, whether he shares in the fate of his country inside or outside the Danish boundaries This ray of hope is the outspoken revival of national feeling in Denmark The complacent belief that "peaceful little Denmark" would never be drawn into the European whirlpool tended to make the Danes neglect their national duties Under the invasion they have come to realize that only a united-nation, faithful to national tradition, will survive The revival has recently found expression Almost forgotten patriotic songs, which were sung behind closed doors when the Kaiser's Germany tried to stamp out Danish language and culture in North Slesvig, are now sung night after night by tens of thousands of enthusiasts at open-air meetings all over the country If Denmark regains her national conscience she will not have suffered in vain

STORY AND FACT FROM NORWAY

RUMOUR CORRECTED

EYE-WITNESSES OF THE INVASION

From THE TIMES of June 18, 1940

IT IS now possible, from the evidence of eye-witnesses and prominent Norwegians who have since left the country, to form a better idea of the German invasion of Norway It can be authoritatively stated that many stories of treachery and corruption were much exaggerated, if at all true There can be

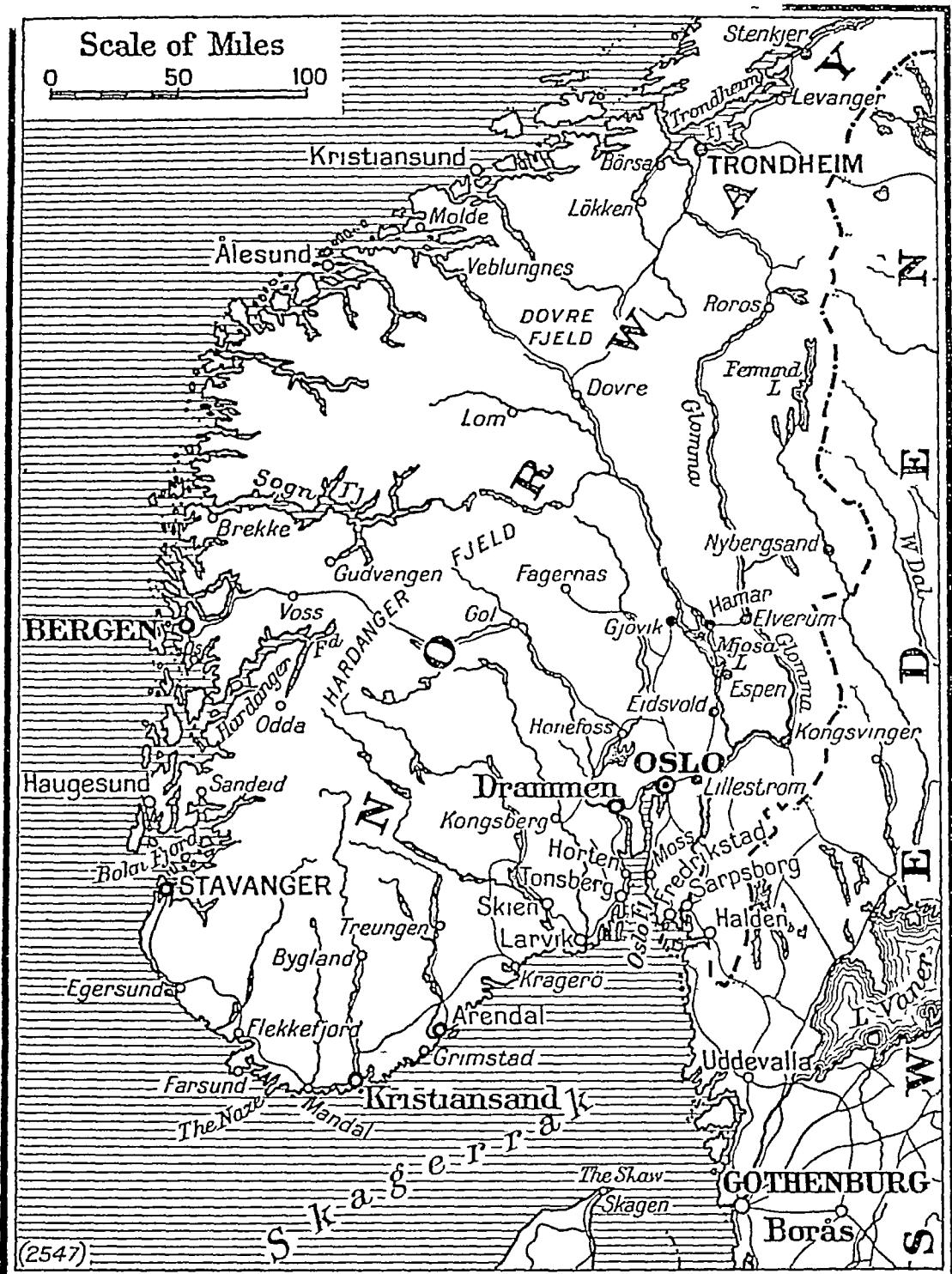
no doubt of Major Quisling's duplicity But he had not many supporters, and the few were unimportant Reports of corruption and treachery within the administration in Oslo seem to be unfounded All the shore batteries went into action. The fortress Oscarsborg sent the 26,000-ton battleship *Gneisenau* to the bottom, and the minelayer *Olav Trygvason*, attacking from the naval base of Horten, sank a German cruiser of the Emden type and two smaller ships before she had to withdraw with about 60 shell-holes in her hull.

Oslo was not taken from the sea but from the air The first troops were landed by aeroplanes on the civil aerodrome at Fornebu, just outside Oslo A detachment of the Royal Guards were rushed to the aerodrome, but were beaten with heavy loss At Kjeller, the military aerodrome north-east of Oslo, which was bombed at once, the small garrison fought to the last man It had been possible to bring the air force, about forty machines, out of the way in time German bombers were circling low above the housetops of the city. No bombs were dropped then, but the streets were machine-gunned A Norwegian, now in London, was compelled while on his way to his office on Tuesday morning to seek shelter several times from machine-gun bullets The first effect of the invasion was numbing Some Osloans may have met the invaders with smiles, but, according to an observer, the smiles only meant, "Wait my friends, in a few days the British will be here, and then——!" The next feeling, when German reinforcements poured in, was a mixture of fury and despair It expressed itself in demonstrations and sabotage The third day the population woke to action and the exodus from Oslo began, especially of young men eager to join the colours—by foot, on skis, in cars

One must not forget that Norway was invaded by strong enemy forces without warning The Czechs were warned ; the Poles were warned ; the Finns were warned All were given time to prepare The Norwegians woke up one morning and found the Germans well planted within their gates Many centres from which the mobilization orders would have been issued were seized Depôts with uniforms and arms were captured Hence thousands of recruits were without direction, without uniforms, without arms. Hurled together, they had to make the best of a desperate situation, fighting where they happened to find themselves opposite German troops Typical of their spirit is the story of the three omnibus drivers who were ordered to

STORY AND FACT FROM NORWAY

bring a German detachment from Oslo to Honefos, and who hurled themselves and their laden vehicles down a 200ft ravine



to certain death. They had left letters behind telling their families what they meant to do

In Kristiansand, Stavanger, Bergen, Trondheim, and Narvik the Germans were resisted, but the defenders, taken by surprise and in some cases with the enemy already within their gates, could not hold out At Narvik the two Norwegian warships were trapped in the harbour and sunk by a much stronger German force The shore batteries at the mouth of the Trondheim fjord were in action, but their shooting is said to have been hampered by the Germans using Norwegian merchant ships for protection At Bergen, where six German warships entered the harbour at 2 o'clock in the morning, one of the two shore batteries opened fire , the other was stormed from the sea and taken by surprise The mobilization in the district round Bergen, however, was carried out in good order, and in about a week considerable forces were concentrated in and around Voss, about 60 miles away on the Bergen-Oslo railway. The men had uniforms but no arms The arms were in Bergen When the Germans, after two weeks, arrived at Voss from two directions, Bergen and Hardanger, the men and officers had no choice but to surrender At Stavanger the defence was left to the destroyer Aeger , she sank a larger German ship before she was sent to the bottom herself On the same morning no fewer than 250 German aeroplanes landed at Sola, the air port of Stavanger.

The part of Norway first overrun was the flat district of Ostfold between the Oslo fjord and the Swedish border. The Germans had an easy task in landing troops in the small towns along the fjord Even there the fortress at Fossum, east of the River Glomma, held out for about three weeks, completely surrounded by the Germans The same heroic spirit was shown as by the volunteer garrison which manned the fortress of Hegra after the Germans had entered Trondheim, and which resisted all attacks for four weeks while supplies were brought by other Norwegian volunteers, penetrating the German lines by night

The first organized resistance was in the Hamar-Elverum district, where the King, the Government, and the Storting had moved before the invasion of Oslo, and at Honefos, north-west of Oslo The King and Government left Oslo on Tuesday, and the Storting assembled during the afternoon at Hamar During the meeting came news that German troops were approaching The meeting had to be adjourned and was continued later in the evening at Elverum At Elverum a telegram was received inquiring whether King Haakon would receive in audience the

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German Minister, Brauer, to discuss certain proposals. The same night German troops attacked Elverum in an attempt to capture the King and Government. The attack was repulsed by Norwegian forces, and the King and Government, who had left Elverum by night, returned to meet Brauer. A new demand was then put forward : the appointment of a Quisling government. This was refused. A proclamation was issued to the Norwegian people ; and German bombers began chasing King and Government from place to place.

By now the defence was improving. The farther north the Germans advanced the harder and fiercer became the fighting. Along the Gudbrands valley, where the Norwegians for the first time combined with British troops, the resistance was especially stiff and heavy losses were inflicted upon the Germans.

KING HAAKON REFUSES TO ABDICATE

“STATE COUNCIL” UNDER GERMAN CONTROL

FREE VOTE IMPOSSIBLE

From THE TIMES of July 9, 1940

IN answer to a petition signed by leading members of the Norwegian Storting requesting the abdication of the King and the resignation of the lawful Government, King Haakon has sent to the Presidential Board of the Storting a letter refusing to abdicate.

The request that the King should abdicate was contained in a communication dated June and telegraphed through diplomatic channels to the Norwegian Legation in London to be presented to the King. It is as follows —

The Presidential Board of the Storting explained that as a result of deliberations in Oslo between the Board, representatives of the four political

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parties, and the National Federation of Trade Unions the following arrangement was made with the German authorities —

As the King and his Government are now outside Norway and for this reason unable to discharge the functions which under the Constitution are incumbent upon them, the Presidential Board of the Storting have considered it their duty to the country and the people to appoint a Riksraad (State Council) The Storting is therefore summoned in order to give its consent to this step and in order to pass further resolutions concerning the powers of the State Council with regard to the management of the public affairs of the country.

The Presidential Board proposed to invite the Storting to pass resolutions revoking the powers of the Nygaardsvold Government and declaring that the State Council takes over temporarily the affairs of the Government and the constitutional functions of the King until new elections are held after peace has been concluded

The Board therefore "earnestly appeal" to the King to renounce his constitutional duties "for himself and his House"

The Presidential Board consists of six members Four signed the appeal Two belong to the Labour Party, one to the Agricultural Party, and one to the Liberal Party. Of the two other members, the President, Mr Hambro (leader of the Conservative Party), is now in America, working in the interests of Norway In his absence a Conservative member of the Storting agreed to sign the petition The sixth member of the Board is a Labour man. He did not sign, for reasons not known in London

In his reply, dated London, July 3, King Haakon says —

I came to Norway in 1905 at the call of the Norwegian people, and I have, during the years that have passed since then, to the best of my ability, tried to fulfil the duties that were thereby laid upon me My new country became infinitely dear to me, and I became devotedly attached to the Norwegian people As always in the past, my motto, "Everything for Norway," is determining my actions, and could I be convinced that I in this moment could serve my people best by resigning my royal office, or could I feel sure that the Presidential Board of the Storting in this case were supported by a majority of the Norwegian people, I would—how deeply it would grieve me to separate from Norway—follow the appeal addressed to me by the Presidential Board

I understand from the letter of the Presidential Board that the motion that the Presidential Board intend to present to the Storting has been prepared according to an agreement with the German authorities of occupation in Norway The motion, therefore, is no expression of a free Norwegian resolution, but the result of constraint exercised by foreign military occupation forces.

KING HAAKON REFUSES TO ABDICATE

I further understand from the letter that the members of the Storting who have avoided the occupation forces by establishing their residence outside Norway are not to be allowed to take part in the meetings, where decision shall be taken with regard to the motion in question

In the present situation the representatives, including even the President of the Storting, who still can vote freely are to be excluded from the Storting, while members who live under the pressure of foreign forces shall alone decide upon the destiny of the country

I should betray my constitutional duties by sanctioning a resolution which may be passed by a Storting summoned under such circumstances

Having explained that under the Constitution the King may stay out of Norway for six months without the consent of the Storting (and longer with consent), King Haakon declares that there is no constitutional foundation for the assertion that he cannot exercise his functions.

The Storting (the King says) has full right to withdraw a vote of confidence already given , but this must in that case be done by a Storting acting in complete constitutional liberty and which has not arbitrarily been deprived of a number of its members None of these conditions can be fulfilled by the assembly that shall now be summoned by the Presidential Board

In the agreement between the Presidential Board and the German occupation authorities it is stated that also the Norwegian Government can no more exercise their constitutional powers, because they are residing outside Norway I and the Government have no higher desire but to exercise our functions in Norway , it is only the presence of a foreign Power that has compelled the Government together with me to leave the country temporarily We have taken this step in conformity with the resolution of the Storting, in order to maintain, as far as possible, a free and independent Norwegian management of public affairs

If such conditions of affairs could be created in Norway that would permit me and the Government to return to the country in order to continue there our work in entire liberty, we would immediately do so. The obvious condition for such a step would be that all foreign military forces leave the country. The arrangement with the German occupation forces that the Presidential Board has made implies, however, that the German occupation shall still be maintained, and in these circumstances I see no possibility of the existence of a free Norwegian Government within the limits of Norway . . .

I will further point to an aspect of the matter under consideration which throws a sharp light on the arrangement in question, and which is not mentioned in the letter of the Presidential Board I refer to the extent of the authority invested in the planned " State Council " I will not go further into the fact which is obvious to everybody, that the State Council in its management of public affairs would have to follow German directions as long as the occupation of Norway is upheld , but I will emphasize what is

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evident by the decision that in these days has been published by the German Government in Berlin, that no foreign States may maintain diplomatic representation in Oslo, and that Norway's foreign policy will be directed from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Berlin

It is thereby clearly said that the new "State Council" in Oslo does not represent an independent country, but only a German dependency. Consequently, an abdication on my part would not even formally be advantageous to an independent administration of public affairs in Norway, the "State Council" would not have conferred on it all the constitutional functions vested in the King.

I cannot see that the Presidential Board has any constitutional authority for remaking legal resolutions voted so far by the Storting. On the contrary, it is quite evident that the whole arrangement proposed is unconstitutional.

I fail to see how I should act in the interest of our country by deferring to the appeal presented to me by the Presidential Board, whereby I should accept an arrangement which is at variance with Norway's Constitution and which a foreign occupation power forcibly tries to impose upon the Norwegian people. I should thereby depart from the principle which during my whole reign has governed my actions—namely, a strict adherence to the Constitution. The freedom and independence of the Norwegian people is to me the first commandment of our Constitution, and I feel that I follow this commandment and best serve the interests of the Norwegian people in holding fast by the position and the task a free people gave me in 1905.

The leading members of the Storting who took up the German idea and signed the petition probably acted in the hope that Norway would be better under a Norwegian Riksraad than under a purely German Administration—which would be the alternative. It is felt in Norwegian circles in London, however, that the only effect of the formation of a Riksraad would be to give an appearance of legality to German control, and thus in the long run make Norway's position worse.

The King's refusal is not expected to deter the signatories from their plan to establish their own form of Government in Norway under ultimate Nazi dictation or persuasion. Presumably when the Riksraad, or State Council, assembles, the Storting will be faced with accomplished facts. The Storting was to have met on July 12, but the meeting has been postponed, possibly to give time for consideration of the King's reply. It is as yet impossible to estimate the reactions of public opinion in Norway. The Riksraad may be accepted as an unavoidable step, but it can be stated that this acceptance would in no way mean a weakening in the loyalty felt for King Haakon and his Government by the overwhelming majority of Norwegians.

LOYALTY TO KING HAAKON

NORWAY'S HATRED OF GERMANS

JOURNALISTS ARRESTED

From THE TIMES of August 12, 1940

THE relations between the Germans and the Norwegians have in recent weeks taken a definite turn for the worse. The main reason for this change, according to the latest reports received in London, is the German efforts to force King Haakon to abdicate. These efforts have met with strong resistance throughout the country, and have resulted in a growing bitterness against the Germans, not only in the provinces, where the population have always been more intransigent, but in Oslo, where the inclination to come to terms with the Germans has been strongest. In the capital also the anti-German atmosphere is becoming more and more pronounced.

The Conservative newspaper *Morgenbladet* recently published a letter from Per Rygh, one of Norway's leading barristers, in which he requested the Germans to allow King Haakon's answer to the appeal for his abdication to be published. Not only was this request refused but the Germans are now using every means to prevent the King's answer from being known. A well-known physician in the neighbourhood of Oslo was, with his son, arrested some days ago by the Germans for having circulated a typewritten text of the King's letter. It is reported that he tried to commit suicide because of the maltreatment of his son in prison.

The Germans have begun to terrorize the Press in what is undoubtedly an effort to stem the growing feeling of bitterness over the German action against the King. According to a reliable report, sixteen editors and journalists have been arrested, and the publication of a number of newspapers has been forbidden. The leading Liberal newspaper in Oslo, *Dagbladet*, and the leading business weekly journal, *Farmen*, have been prohibited permanently. Publication of the largest Liberal newspaper outside Oslo, *Bergens Tidende*, together with other well-known provincial newspapers, has been stopped for longer or shorter periods. Among other newspapers the publication of which has been forbidden are the well-known Labour journals *Vestfold Fremtid*, Sandefjord, and *Vestfold Arbeiderblad*, Tonsberg, and the Conservative *Vestlandske Tidende*, Arendal. The editors of all these newspapers are among those reported arrested.

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While the Labour journals and journalists seem to be in the majority, newspapers and journalists of all political shades and in all parts of the country are among those now suffering from German wrath. This shows how general and widespread the feeling among the Norwegians has become. Those newspapers which are still allowed to be published have received new and sharper instructions about what to write and what not to write. The Germans have given no explanation for the arrests and nobody is allowed to see the prisoners.

Quisling's newspaper, *Fritt Ord*, recently published a surprisingly outspoken article, in which it was admitted that the Norwegians preferred to listen to the London broadcast rather than that from the Oslo station. This, the newspaper added, has caused serious anxiety among the Germans in Norway. "In spite of the overwhelming German victories, and London's lack of friendliness towards the Norwegians," the article continued, "it is London which still dominates the public opinion in Norway. The traitors in London seem more and more to gain the hearing of the Norwegians."

In an appeal to Norwegian sailors, broadcast from London to America, the Crown Prince said — "We must not forget that Norway is still at war. Our merchant fleet is our greatest contribution to this war. We have nearly 1,000 ships, manned by 30,000 seamen, including the whalers. It is this fleet which is our strongest weapon in our fight to reconquer our country. We serve our country by sailing on all the seas, but best of all we serve Norway by bringing to England all the supplies our Allies need. We do not fight only our own battle, but also the battle of our Allies. England's war is our war."

THROUGH NORWEGIAN EYES

THE GERMAN WAY OF MAKING ENEMIES

EGREGIOUS NAZI YOUTH

From THE TIMES of November 1, 1940

WHEN I went from Oslo to the mountains on vacation in July I did not like the spirit I had left behind in the capital. Many, though perhaps not most, people there were on the verge of despair,

convinced that the only thing to do was to make some sort of arrangement with the invader. Then the Germans made their mistake, their great psychological blunder. They showed themselves unable to understand that to ask the Storting and the people to remove the King, especially at such a time, was to wound the most sacred Norwegian feelings. Before the war the King had been popular, yes, very popular, but when the Germans bombed him as he retired to the north the love of the people for him grew and grew. We are in general not demonstratively monarchist, but Haakon was becoming our saga King. A wonderful feeling swept through Norway. In a few days there was a great revival, a mighty reaction in spirit against this German demand that the King should be deposed. Members of the Storting were bombarded with letters urging them not to give way.

People in all walks of life were furious. One member of the Storting said to me afterwards "My choice was easy. Either my electors or the Germans would surely shoot me, and I preferred a German bullet." Another member told me with some emotion —

The day I was to leave for Oslo to take part in the discussions my three sons and two sons-in-law (who all but one had taken active part in the fighting) came to me in a body and said "Father, you must not let Norway down, or you can never come home again." The atmosphere was very tense, and I replied "I will not betray Norway, no, not if they shoot me." For many it was not merely a political but a religious question. You could often hear simple people imperfectly quote passages from the Scriptures, such as "Better lose your life than your soul."

When I returned to Oslo in August I was again surprised to find a new spirit of optimism in growth. It was due to several causes. For one thing, Norwegians in the capital were impressed by the knowledge that England was standing firm. Increasing optimism was helped by the unimpressive German attempts at embarkation for the invasion of England, and the view took root that Germans in Norway were getting sick of their invasion plans.

I saw some of the exercises on the coast, elaborate in preparation and with a goodly number of horses as well as men. They were undoubtedly marred by mutinies here and there, for the soldiers soon objected to being crowded into the holds of fishing craft, covered with nets and wire netting, just like pigs in a cart going off to market, and then being taken for trips on the restless sea.

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This huddled live freight became sick, time after time, no matter how often the experiments were repeated, and the smaller fishing craft had to be abandoned as unsuitable for invasion purposes. Whether the whole idea of an expedition from Norway has been given up cannot be said, but we gained the firm impression that German soldiers in Norway feared the turbulent British waves.

Norway as a whole has grown to believe the reports sent out from London, and in this process the Germans were helpful, for men on the spot saw how German claims distorted the known facts which concerned Norway. Though many of the British reports during the Norwegian campaign were faulty and hampered faith in the British cause, by the time I left the country in the first half of October this had been corrected and it could be said that the hopes of most people had developed into belief in a coming British victory. The Germans had missed their opportunity. In July they had a chance of winning us over by playing on the sore theme that Britain had left us in the lurch. But they went about it in the wrong way, they could not resist the impulse to assail our King. It had become clear, too, that they were plundering our country on a terrible scale. In one week they took 60,000,000 Norwegian crowns from the Bank of Norway. And the German soldiers were visibly becoming fatter. They were getting our eggs, butter, and other nutritious produce, while it was ever more difficult for our housewives to obtain the food to which they were accustomed. By the time I left there was no real food distress in Norway, but the outlook is black. And we had to pay more and more taxes. I may give an instance of reaction in the food queues in Oslo. My wife was standing one day with other housewives who were talking and complaining about the soaring prices when one woman exclaimed:—

Oh, this is good, this is wonderful. We shall get hungry, we shall freeze. I am glad, yes glad, for that is the only way we can all get to understand that we have the Germans here.

There had been no hate for the Germans in April and hatred did not become general all at once. We were in the main pro-British and felt keen disappointment that the Royal Navy did not stop the German invasion. But now the whole people hate and despise, not individual Germans, but the whole Nazi idea and the men sent to put it into practice. There is some admiration still for the German military machine, for its efficiency. Between it and the Nazi civil administration, however, is a deep gulf. The young fools brought from Germany and put into office

THROUGH NORWEGIAN EYES

are so ignorant of the most elementary things that they appear simply stupid The difference between the middle-aged Germans and these youngsters placed in authority is marked I heard a leading Norwegian remark to an elderly German one day —

“ What surprises me most is the sudden shrinkage in the German brain ”

“ What do you mean ? ” asked the German

“ I hear your young people asking the silliest questions, I see them doing the silliest things They simply know nothing It is terrible that you put them in such responsible posts.”

The German agreed and replied, “ You are right. They are a problem to us I can’t tell you what trouble we have with them ”

At the negotiations for the deposition of the King and the introduction of a “ New Order ” I was present in the second and last stage, and took an active part, though I was not at the talks in July. If some Norwegians went too far it was in good faith and to avoid as they thought the imposition of a German administration or a Quisling régime. They tentatively agreed to concessions which they believed would secure some sort of an acceptable Norwegian administration. I was strongly against this course, telling my countrymen they did not know German history Unlike the English, the Germans recognize nothing in the nature of a “ gentleman’s agreement,” I explained, and it was a mistake to think a pact could be safely made with Hitler If you offered a finger the Nazis would take the whole hand An Al Capone might be jealous of the German method.

I had been a member of the Norwegian delegation to Geneva and always hoped the better methods of our common humanity would prevail I knew the Nazi methods well, but at these negotiations I was simply horrified to find how low the German political culture had sunk The most scandalous moment was when the Germans said, “ Well, about the King, the Storting, and so on, you may vote on the Norwegian text of the proposal, but it is the German text which will count as valid ” Now the German draft was substantially different from the Norwegian, and it was just this difference which was in dispute The Norwegian delegates replied, “ We cannot go to our electors with a decision like that We refuse your suggestion ”

It was another great psychological blunder to try to get Norwegians in on a deal like that , but then the whole of the occupation period has been marked by a chain of such blunders On May 17, for instance, the Norwegian National Day, not only

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was all celebration forbidden, including the hoisting of our flag, but at the cinemas the Germans showed films of their conquest of Norway. The students and the public rose in tumult, and nowhere would they allow these shameless pictures to be shown that day. In every case I know of the *séance* was interrupted, lights turned up, and the people ordered to go home. When Terboven, the Reichskommissar, was told of this tactless wounding of national feeling he could not understand that the Germans had been wrong.

A similar tumult occurred later at an Oslo cinema when a film representing the fight and destruction of Rotterdam was shown. The audience, composed largely of students, simply would not have it. They booed and whistled, stamped and shouted, till the lights were turned up. A German colonel in uniform rose and tried to reason with the turbulent house, but they would not let him have his say. Then the colonel lost his temper and fiercely ordered everybody to go home.

But if the Norwegians detest and despise the Germans, particularly the German civil administrators, they loathe the very name of Quisling. Unpopular in April, by September he had come to be a laughing-stock. There has been no revolution in Norway, and his meagre two per cent following has not grown. His "New Order" is simply forced order, created and supported by the German military and the Gestapo. Left to themselves, not for a day but a bare five minutes, the Norwegians would discard their Quisling chains with one spontaneous act. But one thing I do fear for our people—the application of economic pressure, which is being brought to bear on the individual and his family.

Since April 9 I have had many disappointments. Some in whom I firmly believed have proved not so strong as expected. Others, it is true, have come out stronger than their past records suggested. But I believe even more to-day in my own people. They are sound. They have preserved their sense of dignity and honour, and they can still laugh. We have believed a compromise possible with the Nazis. But they now understand at home that there is no bridging the gulf, for the Nazis inhabit another world. You have to accept the Nazi world or destroy it. Our naivety has gone. We are out to destroy the vile thing we have seen.

King Haakon's Stand

From THE TIMES of July 9, 1940

King Haakon of Norway is making a stand for legality, for liberty, and for the immediate and ultimate interests of his country in refusing to be inveigled into abandoning his throne. The correspondence has been published which passed between his Majesty and certain leaders of the Storting. These leaders conveyed to King Haakon a draft resolution, which they propose to have passed by the rump Storting of Oslo, according to the terms of which the powers conferred upon Hr. Nygaardsvold, the constitutional Prime Minister, would be revoked, recognition of his position would be withdrawn, and the functions hitherto exercised by the King would be transferred to a new State Council, which would henceforward govern the country.

It is needless to say that the whole plan owes its inspiration to the German masters of Norway, and, if it were adopted, it would mean that Norway would be ruled by a helpless group at the bidding of those masters. King Haakon had not the slightest difficulty, when he sent his considered reply to his faint-hearted, self-seeking, or treacherous advisers, in proving that he would be running away from his duty if he abdicated and acting contrary to the expressed wishes of the Storting when it last existed as a free body. On the very day that the German invader set foot in Norway the elected representatives of the country met at Elverum, and there resolved that the capture by the enemy of the King, the Crown Prince, or the Government was by all means to be avoided; and the Government were given authority to continue their work for Norway "from any place where this could be done best in the interests of the nation." No limit of time, as the King says in his reply, was indicated.

The present Prime Minister has held office since 1935 and recently united members of different Parties in a National Government. King and Government have of course no higher desire than to exercise their functions in Norway, but the presence of the forces of a foreign Power would prevent them from performing their task in liberty. Still less could any rival Government approved by the German Commissar, Terboven, and his accomplices pretend to govern the country in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the population. Norway, as the King reminds his rebellious lieges, is to receive no diplomatic

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representatives of foreign States in Oslo, by order of Berlin, it is also the professed aim of the Reich to isolate Norway economically from the Western and extra-European States, and the new State Council can therefore only represent a German dependency Moreover German tutelage is helpless to defend the considerable interests of the country oversea The present Government, now situated in London, are in a better position to look after the vast shipping and fishery interests of the country For all these reasons King Haakon and his Government are wholly justified in taking their decision to continue, whatever the difficulties of their position, to maintain as best they can the authority which was entrusted to them by the Norwegian people —for King Haakon is a monarch elected by them in 1905 Since he was called to the Throne he has never failed in spiritual strength and loyalty to his people, and these are still his guiding motives in the dark days of tribulation

Norway Enslaved

From THE TIMES of September 28, 1940

For the time being the Nazis have succeeded in enslaving the Norwegian people The Government now set up in Oslo had been imposed by force, after cajolery had failed The traitor Quisling and the Gestapo are its creators, and it is controlled from Berlin through the medium of Gauleiter Terboven Terboven himself, when announcing the new régime, blurred out the truth by concluding his broadcast with the words, “The Norwegian people can only regain their liberty and independence by one road, the road which goes through the Nasjonal Samling and its leader Quisling” This admission that Norwegians had their liberty before the Nazis came and have lost it now could in any case not be denied ; the doubtful part of Terboven’s statement is the promise that they can regain it through the agency of Quisling and his new Party Traitors and place-seekers are not good sponsors of popular liberties. The freely elected assembly by which the people’s voice has always been heard is dispersed, and will evidently have nothing more to say in the government of the country The King and his legal Cabinet, constitutionally appointed and now serving in England, are “deposed” by the temporary masters of the country ; and effective authority will

NORWAY ENSLAVED

be in the hands of a group of Quisling's friends supported by German bayonets

Not one of the group has experience of politics. They are for the most part professional men who will administer the country under Terboven. There is a chief of police among them, but no Minister for Foreign Affairs and no Defence Minister—for the obvious reason that those offices are the insignia of a free country. King Haakon and his Ministers stated the true position when they said in their broadcast to the Norwegian people delivered from free England: "The new body that is to conduct the government of Norway has no basis except the German conquering force, and it will be compelled to govern according to the orders of its German masters." The main significance of the establishment of the new régime, as a Norwegian Correspondent points out this morning, is that the Germans have not been able to make the Norwegian people willingly accept their rule. Political night, blacker than the long hours of winter darkness which begin to dim the Norwegian landscape at this time of year, descends upon a people whose love of freedom is traditional and spiritually irrepressible. Independent newspapers have been suppressed, and all political parties except Quisling's, only German films are to be shown in the cinemas, "democratic thought" and the "plutocratic system"—the term is even more nonsensical than usual when applied to the public life of Norway—will no longer be permitted. Special penalties have been imposed for lampooning Quislings, spy-hunts have been organized by the minions of Himmler. It is a sad day for the gallant little people whose crime is to have been an independent neighbour of Germany, and it is another example of the deadening effect of Nazi domination.

V

HOLLAND UNDER GERMAN RULE

REQUISITIONING OF FOOD SUPPLIES AND RAW MATERIALS

POLITICAL PLANS IN ABEYANCE

From THE TIMES of August 13, 1940

BOMBING raids by the R A F on German-occupied aerodromes in Holland have been distinguished by good marksmanship on military targets. In spite of some danger to civilian life and damage to civilian property, the Dutch people feel that every bomb that hits its mark is one more blast to free them from their prison cage. Most Dutch have indeed shown a magnificent spirit and a recognition that a British victory is the only hope for their future as an independent nation.

Active resistance is impossible. The Dutch have developed their own technique in showing what they think of the German invaders and of obstructing in any little way that can be useful and still practical. The Germans know that they are not liked. Their treatment of Holland has not been so openly conciliatory as it is reported to have been in other occupied States. The Gestapo has settled down heavily on the country, and an economic stranglehold enables the Germans to extract what they want.

On the surface Holland wears a fairly normal aspect. The Government are functioning, the wheels of industry still turn; trains run much as usual; and the rebuilding of devastated areas is actively in hand. Beneath all this there is a formidable problem to be faced. Before the invasion Holland was well stocked, in spite of the blockade there were adequate reserves of raw materials and ample food supplies.

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From the moment of the German entry into The Hague this great warehouse of consumable goods was raided. Payment was given in useless paper marks and the goods disappeared into



Germany. In the first week 8,000,000 kilograms [17,600,000lb] of butter, about 90 per cent of the total reserves, were removed. The same thing happened in varying degrees to other stocks of

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food, clothing, and raw materials If there is to be starvation in this war the Dutch fear that they will starve first and the most thoroughly.

This wholesale requisitioning brought in the card-rationing system There was not much left in the shops for sale For the Dutch (the system does not apply to the German invaders) the ration for oils and fat is 125 grammes (a little over four ounces), for tea ten grammes, and for coffee fifty grammes a head a week. These quantities are temporary, and will decrease as stocks become exhausted The Dutch Government had before the war accumulated large reserves of tinned meats. Although these were also acquired by the Germans, the compulsory slaughter of cattle will provide enough meat for present reduced needs and will be used to renew the depleted stocks of tinned foods Whether this additional supply will be allowed to remain in Dutch possession is another matter.

There is one portion of the population which will suffer from the cutting down of tinned foods. The stores were accumulated principally to feed the unemployed, who will now get none of them Instead they are being organized into labour corps to be drafted anywhere within the territory controlled by the Third Reich. Refusal to join this organization entails starvation, as no ration cards will be issued to recalcitrant workers. Dutch labour is thus compelled to serve, however unwillingly, its new masters.

In the wider economic field the Germans seem to have promulgated a plan of their own devising Factories which fit into the German scheme of things are encouraged to work, and every effort is made to keep them supplied with the raw materials which they need, if these are available As the Germans have appropriated a large quantity of Dutch coal for German factories, however, there is a scarcity of fuel for power For the same reason the heating problem in the coming winter will present formidable difficulties, which will be overcome only if the Germans consider it expedient to keep the Dutch warm.

There is a general feeling that the Germans are anxious to avoid the possibility of internal troubles For this reason alone it is probable that they will try to maintain a standard of existence in Holland at least a little above starvation level People seem to agree that for the coming winter disaster can be avoided Private

HOLLAND UNDER GERMAN RULE

hoardings of food and severe rationing will tide the Dutch over the next six to seven months

Politically the Germans have attempted no radical changes As far as possible the central and local governments have been permitted to continue, ostensibly on traditional Dutch lines, always, of course, under the overriding control of Seiss-Inquart and the German generals, with Himmler and his satellites in the background.

The Germans seem largely to have ignored questions affecting the reigning House At first they tried to make capital out of the Queen's departure to England, but a partial local hostility to the House of Orange soon died down, and a German trump card disappeared with it Since then the Germans have maintained discreet silence on the subject Decrees are issued and the general administration is carried out by a body terming itself a "Committee," composed mostly of the Chief Secretaries of the Departments of State, most of whom remained in The Hague after the departure of their Ministers to England By this means the Committee preserves the semblance of legality and nationality In point of fact, it does nothing more than give written form to the wishes of the authorities in Berlin

Naturally the Germans wished to reward their Dutch supporters, and many of these found jobs in the Administration Few arrests have been made, nor is there much evidence of revenge having been taken against known enemies of the Nazis A number of suicides in the days following the German conquest may have removed potential victims from the Gestapo On the whole, the Dutch people have been left alone German refugees who had escaped illegally from Germany have been sent back to an unknown but imaginable fate Other German refugees, apart from being compelled to report to the police every day, are more or less ignored Nothing on a large scale seems to have happened to Left-Wing sympathizers or to Jews, of whom there are large numbers in Holland The concentration camp has been reserved principally for Roman Catholics, and especially for a body of Catholic University professors

Whatever has been ordained, economically or politically in Holland is, in the nature of things, only temporary. The future is uncertain The opinion universally held is that as the war proceeds, the problems presented by Holland to the Germans will become increasingly difficult, and will consequently involve the

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Dutch people in greater suffering. Belief in an ultimate Allied victory is strong, but there is a lurking fear that the interests of big business might insist on a peace with Hitler which, for the Dutch, would amount to the same thing as a German victory.

GERMANY IN BELGIUM

A SYSTEM OF POTENTIAL TERRORISM IN INDUSTRIAL CONTROL

KING LEOPOLD'S ATTITUDE

From THE TIMES of August 20, 1940

THE continual stream of refugees from Belgium through Portugal has given an opportunity of forming a fairly accurate picture of what is taking place in that country under German occupation. The one fact upon which both Belgians and neutrals agree is the probability of a serious famine in Belgium this winter.

Gloomy famine forebodings are based upon ample facts. Already Belgium is short of food, chiefly fats, meat, and grain. The harvest is still another six weeks to two months off. In any case it is bad, and in normal times Belgium receives more than seventy per cent of her wheat from America. Her cattle industry is also largely dependent upon foreign feeding stuffs. The shortage is due to economic and geographical causes, and not to wholesale German requisitioning. In the main the German army which came to Belgium was fed from Germany; what was taken and paid for in worthless paper marks especially printed for the occasion was on a small and local scale. Temporary breakdowns in the German transport system were the cause.

Unlike Holland, Belgium did not build up large reserves of food. The blockade has hindered delivery of wheat from America, so that to-day there is practically none left. In regard to fats, milk, eggs, and meat the need is not at the moment so grave, but it is likely in the near future to assume very serious proportions, owing primarily to the German economic policy in Belgium. The Germans have decided that the Belgians are too well fed and could do with a lot less food, certainly with much less butter. With this conviction has gone a determination to change the whole course of the country's rural economy. Pasture is to be cut

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down by fifty per cent, with a corresponding increase in arable land. A decree has already put this plan into operation. Inevitably cattle have to be slaughtered, and, while meat will continue to be obtainable, milk and butter will become progressively scarcer. At the same time poultry are to be obliterated from the land. Only ten per cent of pre-war poultry stocks can be maintained; this means the survival only of the barndoors fowl who can fend for himself in the steadings. Thus the egg has vanished.

There are still plenty of vegetables and fruit, so that when the worst comes to the worst the poor man's soup can be distributed in decreasing quantities. Vegetables and fruit are, however, strictly rationed so that a good surplus can be had for preserving and tinning, a process which does not seem to be hampered by the almost complete lack of sugar. Beer is another commodity which is to be beheaded under the axe of German necessity. Thirty to forty per cent only of the pre-war consumption will be brewed. The malt which it is hoped to have as surplus after this economy will be sent to Germany to be turned into coffee.

There is another side to this inclusion of Belgium within an overriding Reich economy. In consultation with Belgian industrialists and bankers, vital decisions are being taken involving the fate of the country's principal industries. The production of cement and bricks is encouraged, while the motor-car tyre industry is to be closed down. This appears to be within the compass of the German intention to try to make Holland and Belgium, and possibly Denmark, complementary units within one economy whose direction will be from Berlin and whose policy will depend upon the exigencies of the Third Reich. So far as possible they must be independent of any support from Germany and yet capable of maintaining themselves at a level above the starvation line.

The implications of such a policy, if it comes to anything, are not yet appreciated by the ordinary Belgian. He is given glowing accounts of the prospects of the future by his German master Nazi and military quarters ridicule the idea of a food shortage in the coming winter. As propaganda it may be good, yet the forebodings of well-informed Belgians and neutrals are shared by the German bankers who have followed into Belgium on the heels of the army. These gentry have few illusions about the real state of affairs and in suitable company have no modesty in expressing their doubts. Indeed, they have a risky job, being expected to

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make an economy work which does not contain the seeds of success within it.

A first check came quickly. In consultation with the Belgian Central Bank of Issue, the German financial experts decided to found a note issue upon the backing of twenty-five per cent. of the value of all immovable property in the country. This plan proved impracticable, and for the present the cash buying power of the Belgians, except those who are so lucky as to earn a few marks by working for their masters, is derived from hoarded money now coming to light. The stock will rapidly dwindle, especially as so many commodities have to be paid for in marks purchasable at an expensive rate of exchange.

While the economic side of the picture is not bright, the political aspect is rapidly deteriorating. At the beginning the whole German propaganda was directed towards making the Belgians feel not too dissatisfied with their lot. The behaviour of the invading troops was in the main excellent. Every endeavour was made to gain Belgian cooperation in all branches of public activity. The Belgians were reminded continually that this invasion was very different from that of 1914, different in two ways. The Germans could be good friends or the most fearful enemies. Ever since the beginning of the invasion the Germans have taken care to show their powers of potential frightfulness. Most Belgians saw the vast swastika painted on the skies by German aeroplanes in the first days, and heard the terrifying noises made by bombs and shells. Now German bombers drone continually over the Belgian cities, performing the dual service of inducing terror and training new pilots.

German propaganda has certainly had a notable success. The passive resistance of 1914-18 is nowhere in evidence. There is in fact a considerable amount of cooperation, willingly given and gratefully accepted. Ministries are functioning, deprived of their chiefs, but still with an experienced body of permanent Civil servants. Most of the big bankers and industrialists who are still in Belgium are continually consulted by the Germans. Almost the only major change from the old dispensation is the substitution of German military officials for the provincial governors. Nothing has been left undone to blacken the British in Belgian eyes; the same applies in a less degree to the French. This has not been difficult since the King still holds the affections of the people, and the attitude of the Allies and especially of the Pierlot Government to the royal capitulation profoundly shocked

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many Belgians It has formed a happy text for German propaganda ever since

The triumphs of German propaganda are becoming less marked as the occupation lengthens It was in the first place rather overdone Then the Germans have as yet had no success in capturing the allegiance of the King to the new order of things He is the ace of trumps in the political pack of cards. Unlike Queen Wilhelmina and the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, who have simply been ignored by the Germans, King Leopold is the key to the Belgian situation If he could only be persuaded to accept responsibility and form a Government under German dictation the way in the future would be simple The Belgian Government in France has little following The King is the only possible alternative But the King has consistently refused to cooperate in any way with the Germans All kinds of personal and political pressure have been brought to bear upon him, promises of a future free Belgium, when the Hitler victory is an actuality, with suitable compensation in the north of France for the coastal strip which it is intended to form into a German province.

So far the trump card has refused to be played, and as long as he continues to refuse German plans for Belgium are doomed to failure. No amount of propaganda and no amount of apparent willingness to listen to Belgian troubles will turn aside the stark facts of economic disaster. Belgium is likely to become a grave liability if the war cannot be finished in the shortest possible time Tempers on both sides are liable to become worn under the rub of economic necessity If that does happen the old spirit of defiance is certain to reassert itself.

AMONG THE GERMANS IN OCCUPIED BRUSSELS

THE LISTLESS MIND IN THE WEARY BODY

RISING SPIRIT OF THE BELGIANS

From THE TIMES of October 2, 1940

THE first leaves are falling as I sit in the park opposite the Royal Castle in Brussels before my departure in the second week of September Children are playing round the big pond, which

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brings up memories of the Luxembourg Gardens in Paris. Toy boats sail across the dark waters and young voices fill the air as the children laugh and shout. From the main entrance on the other side of the park comes the faint sound of trams and motor-cars. You cannot hear the tramp of German army boots here, but you know it is there on the pavements.

Barbed wire shuts off the centre of the park, and German sentries guard the wireless station which has been put up there next the children's playground among green lawns and flower beds. On one side of the park flies the swastika flag over the Royal Palace, on the other side, the street as well as the courtyards, halls, rooms, and corridors of the former Parliament and Government buildings swarms with German soldiers, for all these premises have been taken over by the invaders. The uniforms are manifold in colour and design, dark green, light green, dark grey, light grey, many shades of browns and blues, mixtures of black and brown, black and white, and other combinations. All are adorned with some kind of weapon, a rifle or revolver or a rather ridiculous looking sort of dagger dangling at the hip. For these the Belgians have their own facetious pet name. Some nine-tenths of the German military here walk about in high black boots, which are worn even by the railway officials.

Brussels is full of these boots. You cannot forget them. If you close your eyes the sound of their tramp haunts you, be it by day or at any hour of the night. And as accompaniments to the perpetual tramp, tramp, tramp, you hear the sharp shouts and commands of the men who wear them, the noise of their innumerable motors, carts, tanks, trucks, motor-cycles, buses, and overhead the roar of aeroplane engines. There is no escape, for if you go into a restaurant or shop, especially a food shop, any hotel or bar, boulevard or square, the scene is everywhere dominated by men and women in German uniforms.

Their names are perplexingly numerous. Besides the *Deutsche Wehrmachtangehörige* (the military proper) there are members of the *Arbeitsdienst*, *Technische Nothilfe*, *Arbeitsorganisation Todt*, *Streifendienst*, *Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt*, *Hitlerjugend*, various kinds of Civil servants now in military uniform, bank clerks, transport officials, *Kraft durch Freude* men and women, and the Gestapo. But the striking thing about these hundreds and thousands of soldiers and semi-soldiers ranging from youths to grey-headed men, girls, nurses, and what not, is that they do

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not live up to the creed imposed on the super-racial citizens of glorious and victorious Great Germany or maintain the dignity which their citizenship enjoins They are certainly in the main tired, war-weary, and demoralized to a high degree.

This statement is not based on wishful thinking, but on actual observation and first-hand experience Intimate and unconstrained contact with German soldiers, officials, and women in Belgium to-day makes the propaganda to which we have been subjected, the official bulletins and newspapers we have read both in German and in French, seem unreal Rarely, indeed scarcely ever, can you hear among the many German uniforms in Belgium any of the high-flown phrases about victory, greatness, and invincibility On the contrary, the Germans in Belgium betray a surprising lack of faith in the propaganda of their Government. Only yesterday I heard a German officer say quietly that he thought the Germans would find it impossible to invade and defeat England "Our people do not know the English," he explained, "but I have spent many years among them in their country."

German soldiers in Belgium are frequently heard to declare they detest this war, that they are sick and tired of it and want to go home. At first one can scarcely believe one's ears and wonders whether it is not some sort of trap or astute new form of propaganda, but that idea soon passes and the conviction is formed that the "victorious" German soldiers are seriously demoralized At the slightest inducement, and often without, they will produce photographs of their wives, children, dogs, or other pets, and talk at length about the bombing of their home towns, the permanent dangers in which their families live while they themselves are or seem to be in relative security marking time. Encourage these sentimental bullies to talk about letters from home and you soon feel you have them on the verge of tears

So far as can be judged, most of the soldiers now in Brussels have been some two years in arms If asked about the end of the war they generally shrug their shoulders and show no pleasure in the prospect of the future They certainly criticize the occupation of Denmark and Norway, and they wonder what they are doing in Belgium, "which will never become German, anyway" They do not want to fight, they can easily be induced to profess that they personally have no great sympathy for the Nazi Government, they obviously have no firm faith in ultimate victory, and

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the view can often be heard that, "if we do not succeed with our invasion of England in the course of September—and we shall probably not succeed, though we still hope, of course—we shall never win this war" Without any inducement they now occasionally add, "And that means revolution"

We know Germany and Germans sufficiently to remember some of their reactions, how cruelty and sentimentality are typical features of their character. A man who does not hesitate to machine-gun women and children will sit down and cry, yes, actually shed tears, at the thought of his pet canary being killed by a cat. They are decidedly in sentimental mood to-day. For they are not used to suffering directly as a people during war. The bombing of Berlin and Hamburg is making them tearful. Yet I am convinced it is not only this which has turned their stomachs against this war : they are just sick of it for no particular reason and most of them are not Nazis at heart.

True as this may be of the Germans in Brussels, it would be too much to conclude that their weariness, disgust, or general disapproval are enough to bring them to open revolt. It may seem madness, it surely is some form of madness, but these people are in the grip of terror, terrified to death, and will never find strength and will power of themselves to oppose their Nazi leaders. The Belgians, who clearly realize the obvious demoralization of the German troops in their country, are equally convinced of their powerlessness to take any sort of revolutionary initiative. A Belgian workman put the case in a nutshell the other day when he said, "They tell us they detest the war and want to go home, but they are here all the same. That is all that really counts." He added, with the air of a conspirator, "But you wait and see. In 1918 we let them all go home. This time not one of them who lingers shall leave the country : there is room for all of them in the canal."

The attitude of the Belgians towards the invader is clear, and the Flemish people also appear not so delighted as the Nazi Government would have the world believe. It seems now that, faced with the Germans, they are all really Belgians and their mutual antagonisms fade at the prospect of having the country carved into bits. The people of Belgium feel now that they have been defeated by treachery. They have no one clear idea as to who has brought them to their present plight, but all in Belgium know to-day that it is not the English who have betrayed them,

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though the Germans have sought to propagate this conception It is touching and curious to observe how they contrive to spread the news of the B B C They listen where and when they can, in spite of the heavy penalty prescribed by the Germans Servants, waiters, tram conductors, indeed everybody, does his best to pass choice items along as fast as possible, and all listen with delight for the sound of British aeroplanes which come after dusk to bomb the Germans in their midst.

In spite of the thorough German militarization, or perhaps because of it, the Belgians show their real sentiments whenever they have an opportunity On September 1 there were horse races near Brussels, and among the horses was one called Britannique Nobody seemed to know anything about this horse, but it seemed that everybody was backing it to win Well, as Chesterton says, the curious thing about miracles is that they sometimes happen And a miracle happened that day the dark horse Britannique came in first, and the crowd lost all restraint, laughing, roaring, shouting "Britannique, Britannique," clapping one another on the back, and acting as if they had not merely won money but had received a welcome sign from Heaven

The Germans in Belgium are over-organized and therefore inefficient, as many of the numerous departments often work against one another, wittingly or unwittingly, and cancel out The highest authorities are sometimes quite ignorant of important things done within their province.

Living in Belgium you feel there is something in the German machine that does not work as smoothly as it should There appear to be two distinct features, the military and the economic, which are often out of gear When economic plans break down the military take charge In spite of the demoralized temper of the troops, the military machine still works through inertia with tolerable efficiency, and it would be wrong to regard the soldiers as on the road to an early revolution It is often said, and with apparent truth, that nine-tenths of all Germans are out of sympathy with their Nazi masters, but if this is really so they are the passive nine-tenths, who will not of themselves rise in active revolt against the active one-tenth But there is another possibility, which some competent observers incline to regard even as a probability.

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The stunned spirit of the Belgians has largely recovered, and the word "revolution" is often whispered. It was heard now and then as far back as August, but only in a vague and dreamy way. But the economic spoliation of the country which has not yet reduced the people to the apathy following long and gradual starvation has aroused intense resentment. For the moment only the spirit of revolt is there, ready to take shape if practical opportunity should arise. At the beginning of September the good old *La Libre Belgique* appeared again on the scene. It is believed that, when the moment is ripe and active revolt becomes a fact in France or any other occupied country, it will rapidly spread to all, certainly to Belgium. The movement, if movement it may be called, appears for the present at least to have little or no taint of Bolshevism, for Communists and Nazis are lumped together in the minds of most citizens of Belgium and looked upon as traitors. The only tangible thing in the goal towards which minds tend is the liberation of Belgium from foreign domination.

The problem of King Leopold is not often raised. It is difficult at present to say definitely how the King stands with his people in Belgium. Something akin to incipient propaganda for *Léopold, le Roi Humain* is afoot and many people wear a tiny gilt crown in their buttonhole as a symbol of adhesion to his cause. The King appears to be in some sort of conflict with the Germans, though no trustworthy information is available on the nature of their disagreements. He is more or less a prisoner, and while this fact and the belief that he is causing the Germans difficulties tend to improve his position he is still far from enjoying the affection of the whole of the Belgian people.

UNCERTAINTIES IN BELGIUM

GERMANY AS "LIBERATOR" OF THE FLEMISH PEOPLE

EXPLOITING THE AUTONOMISTS

From THE TIMES of October 25, 1940

EIGHT million Belgians, of whom 2,000,000 were refugees in France and have been repatriated, are now living under German domination. Their courage in resisting the oppressor is supported

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by three facts which Hitlerite propaganda cannot hide from them. The first is that Great Britain is continuing, almost alone, the struggle against the common enemy, and her avenging aeroplanes, bound for Germany, cross the skies of Belgium every day. The second is that the Belgian Government have their seat in London and are taking part so far as their resources allow in the efforts which Belgians hope will lead to the liberation of their country. The third fact is that King Leopold persists in his complete isolation and will not consent to play the part of a puppet in the hands of the Germans. Beyond that the Belgians have no certainty but in mourning for their dead, the ruin of their homeland, and its shameful exploitation by soldiery and plunder specialists from Germany.

After five months of military occupation the Germans are still avoiding any statement about the frontiers and the form of administration they propose to give to Belgium. Their propagandists try to give Belgians the impression that Germany wants to respect the unity and to some extent the independence of their country. This strange moderation is no doubt explained by the desire to hide from the victim the end towards which she is being led, in the hope that she will be more docile. It appears that the Germans arrived in Belgium with plans of dismemberment and annexation but found the moral resistance of the Belgian people—already expressed in the form of sabotage—to be a formidable factor, even in a military sense. The plans therefore remained in their portfolios.

The administrative situation in Belgium is now almost the same as when the Belgian army capitulated. The King, who regards himself as a prisoner, lives in his chateau at Laeken, near Brussels, with sentries at the door brought expressly from Berlin to mount guard over him. All power is vested in a German military high command, whose authority extends also to Northern France. Belgium, unlike Holland and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, has not yet acquired a German Governor. So far as it is not exercised directly by the occupying Power administration of the country is left to the secretaries-general of the various Belgian Ministries. Belgian laws have not been abrogated and the Belgian courts of justice continue to function. But this remnant of autonomy left to the Belgians is, as may be imagined, no more than an empty form.

A recent incident shows the dangers to which magistrates are exposed if they continue to perform their duties within the

framework of the national institutions. The Judges of an Antwerp Court had assembled to hear a case, begun before Belgium was invaded, against the publishers of an anti-Semitic newspaper. German officers among the public stopped the proceedings and arrested the Judges and the Public Prosecutor without further ado. The documents in the case were seized, and a statement issued later by the *Oberburgermeister* of Antwerp explained that "the German administration could not allow Belgian justice to proceed against men who for the last two years had expressed their sympathy for a brother people (the German) and for National-Socialism."

All the traitors and suspects arrested by the Belgian judicial authorities when the invasion began, and who, after being imprisoned in France, were released by the French authorities, have become German protégés. They serve the Germans as "advisers" and informers, but little work of importance is entrusted to them. The Germans favour all movements of opinion that may reduce the moral resistance of the Belgian people. As they did during the last War, they try to encourage the autonomist tendencies of certain Flemish intellectuals who are simple enough to believe that Flemish culture would fare better in German hands than in those of Belgium herself, where the Flemish represent rather more than half the population.

In a Flemish newspaper, *Volk en Staat*, published under the control of Germany, one of these intellectuals, discussing the formation of a Flemish "cultural council," has not hesitated to appeal to "Germanic solidarity."

A people [he writes] which wishes to govern itself first attains that end by the energetic assertion of its own culture. In their desire to respect to its full extent the individuality of Flanders, and to arouse the development of the people's energy, the occupation authorities have given cause for gratitude to hard-working and conscientious Flanders.

But the aberration of the few nationalists who see Germany as the "liberator" of the Flemish people is not shared by many outside their narrow circle, and all the Belgians who succeeded in escaping from Belgium after the invasion agree that the spirit of resistance to the oppressor is no less alive among Flemish-speaking Belgians than among their French-speaking compatriots. From the beginning of the occupation, however, the Germans have tried to persuade Flemings that they would receive better treatment than the Walloons. Thus they announced that Flemish prisoners of war would be released before their French-speaking

comrades But, as the German officers in charge of the release of prisoners knew little French and not a word of Flemish, and as, on the other hand, the Belgians showed little disposition to divide themselves into two groups, the measure was recognized to be incapable of application and was dropped Every attempt to divide the Belgian people seems condemned in advance to similar failure

The Germans, apparently, have realized that neither the Flemish nationalists nor the Rexists (Fascists) have any real influence in Belgium They use Flemish nationalists and Rexists in their service, but do not allow them to speak in the name of their respective parties In both cases they are restricted to developing National-Socialist theses Up to now no Belgian politician of any importance has joined them, unless one counts M de Man, one of the most curious figures of Belgian Socialism, who seems to have persuaded himself that National-Socialism is the only practical way of achieving Socialism. The Germans, however, have made no great use of M de Man's recent utterances, and it may be deduced that the Belgian Socialist Party is not following the lead of one who for some years was its most brilliant and much-discussed theorist

The most consistent efforts of German propaganda in Belgium are directed to discrediting by every means the Belgian Parliamentarians who supported in France the argument of the Belgian-Government that the King, being a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, was physically unable to reign ; a view which the King himself implicitly approves by his present attitude At a moment when M. Pierlot the Prime Minister, and M. Spaak, Minister of Foreign Affairs, have finally succeeded in joining their colleagues in London, the Germans are redoubling their attacks on the Belgian Government, whom they accuse of the crime of *lèse-majesté*. Their fury reveals a realization that the hearts of the Belgians under German domination are with their compatriots who continue in London the struggle against Germany.

Futile Propaganda

From THE TIMES of July 2, 1940

After its invasion of each successive country Hitler's Reich regularly discovers and gives to the world a whole series of documents proving, without any shadow of doubt, that the victim was

entirely responsible for his own destruction So now, after the expiry of the usual interval, the Nazi Foreign Office has issued a collection of documents purporting to prove that Holland and Belgium had been pursuing a strongly anti-German policy and had planned to allow French and British troops to advance to the attack of Germany through their territories. They were to form a "jumping-off" ground for the invasion of the Ruhr The German attack on the Low Countries forestalled the projected Allied invasion by "only a few hours"

These fantastic fabrications cannot possibly of course make the smallest impression in any country where thought is still free and where the facts are known Both Belgium and Holland carried the strictness of their neutrality to such a pitch that they actually penalized their own newspapers if they printed comment too critical of German policy and methods. And several times the western Allies had to complain of the punctilious legalism of the Dutch in their interpretation of unintentional violations of Dutch neutrality by their airmen Hints were occasionally conveyed from London and Paris that the success or failure of a German attack from the east might depend upon whether plans had or had not been coordinated beforehand for military collaboration between France and Britain on the one hand and Belgium and Holland on the other In vain It would be a breach of the spirit of neutrality. No joint plans could be made. Still less, of course, could the two neutral States allow Allied forces to take up positions inside their countries, where they could have greatly reinforced the prepared defence Their help, when the attack came and the expected appeal was made to them, had to be rendered without that careful prearrangement of details which is essential in modern warfare and upon which the German military machine so greatly relies ; and the consequences are only too well known.

Yet the German Foreign Office has the stupid audacity to declare that Belgium and Holland on May 10 were about to let the Allied troops march eastwards for an attack on Germany "in a few hours" It is difficult to believe the obtuseness which still thinks it can impress foreign opinion by such palpable mendacity ; it is difficult also to believe that the mind of the German public can have become so utterly incapable of distinguishing between truth and falsehood But the Wilhelmstrasse would hardly go to the trouble of issuing these voluminous publications unless

it was supposed that they would make an impression favourable to itself both abroad and at home Ribbentrop no doubt wants to have his share in Nazi triumphs, and this perhaps is his part of the job He must also know the French saying, "Noircissez, noircissez, il en restera toujours quelque-chose." And he also knows his Germans, and the truth of what Nietzsche wrote that they "are always so badly deceived because they try to find a deceiver." The vast majority of them still maintain with every appearance of conviction that it was the fault of the western Powers that Belgium was invaded by Germany in 1914 and, unless there is an unexpected change in their mentality, future generations will go on believing that it was no fault of Hitler's that Austria, Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France were invaded and destroyed It was all the fault of those stupid countries themselves Germany only wanted to protect them If they loved freedom so much that they fought to defend it, they had only themselves to blame. They must understand that Germans are born to be their masters

Under the Nazi Heel

From THE TIMES of August 20, 1940

We publish to-day the third of a series of articles on present conditions in Belgium, Holland, and France—three of the half a dozen countries on which Germany has imposed her dominion. With certain well-marked differences, arising mainly from the temperaments and economic and geographical positions of the conquered peoples, some characteristics of Nazi rule are common to the three countries, from which evidence for these articles has been obtained and sifted with scrupulous care. The Germans are out to please They wish to make these States definite departments of the German *Lebensraum*; and, taking a leaf out of the book of their own writer and thinker Fredrich Naumann, they evidently realize that in the past they have been counted too "hard, masterful, taciturn, with but little patience for our slower fellow-creatures," and that if they demand that "things shall be done precisely as we wish" they need some sort of "international oil, the art, the great art, of managing men." Armed with their new technique, the Nazis have to all appearances had some temporary success in managing the French, and have obtained the cooperation of business men in Belgium,

but make little impression on the Dutch—although even in Holland the civil service collaborates smoothly with its masters and life is described as “fairly normal.”

It is thought in Brussels that the German plan is to make Belgium and Holland, possibly with Denmark, complementary units within one economy whose direction will be from Berlin. Already in Belgium the taskmasters are arranging which industries may survive, as being useful to the Reich, and which shall be killed. For instance, the production of cement and bricks is encouraged while the considerable motor-car tyre industry is to be closed down. Similarly in Holland the factories which fit into the German scheme of things are encouraged to work and every effort is made—though with inadequate result—to supply them with the necessary raw materials. It goes without saying that whatever the Germans want immediately they take. For instance, they carried off over 17,000,000lb of butter from Holland, and have made requisitions of almost every form of food and clothing. In Belgium they have cut down the supply of poultry for the Belgians to ten per cent of their former consumption, only thirty to forty per cent of the former quantity of beer may be brewed, and pasture is to be reduced by a half in favour of arable land. Belgium is already short of fats, meats, and grain. The country has always been dependent on oversea trade for the greater part of its wheat, and both Belgium and Holland depend on imports of feeding stuffs from abroad to feed their cattle.

It is thus relatively easy for German propaganda to cast upon the British blockade responsibility for the stringent shortages which their own policy of invasion and rapacity has produced. In every one of the occupied countries Goebbels's lies and distortions are dripping incessantly upon the rocks of independent sentiment and pro-British sympathies which have been traditionally predominant in them. It would be foolish to minimize the effect which the constant abuse and derogation of Britain must produce on such minds as may be stricken into a sort of torpor by overwhelming military defeat. On the other hand Nazism is chained and bound by the logic of its own doctrine. Side by side with the attempt to curry favour with the inhabitants the Gestapo pursues its sinister task of eliminating opponents; and bombing aeroplanes, which so largely contributed to shatter armed resistance, still drone daily over the Belgian cities in order further to inject the spirit of terror. It says much for the stout-heartedness

of the Belgians that the national will to regain freedom is very much alive King Leopold himself refuses to cooperate with the Germans In Holland the spirit of resistance is even stronger It is certain that these countries—and the same may be confidently predicted of France, which, like the other two, has a long and glorious record of sacrifice in the cause of national independence —will never willingly or finally accept positions of economic and political servitude

The Belgian Government

From THE TIMES of October 25, 1940

The news that MM Pierlot and Spaak have arrived in London will be equally welcome to Belgians in this country and in Belgium itself. It was an anomaly, of which the Germans were not slow to take advantage for propaganda purposes, that, while the King is in his Château outside Brussels, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister should be in France and two of their colleagues over here. When their own country was overrun the whole Belgian Government moved into France; and when France capitulated they unanimously decided to transfer the seat of government to London, whence one of them was able to broadcast a spirited speech last night.

At the moment, however, the pressing problem of the refugees still demanded attention ; and it was accordingly decided that two members, M Gutt, Minister of Finance, and M de Vleeschauwer, Minister for the Colonies, should proceed to London and that the others should for the time being remain in France When the repatriation of the refugees was well under way MM Pierlot and Spaak left France for England, *via* Spain. Although they had been promised free passage, unforeseen difficulties arose in Spain ; there was a long delay and eventually the two Ministers had to get away as best they could In any case they have now arrived in this country ; and it is understood that they and the two Ministers who have in the meantime nobly kept the flag of Belgian independence flying in London will divide all the Cabinet posts between them The Belgian Constitution provides that when the King is not in a position to exercise his functions all powers belong to the nation and to Parliament as representing the nation Parliament being now unable to meet, the powers

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become automatically vested in its executive, the Cabinet ; and thus the Prime Minister and his three colleagues legally constitute the Government of Belgium.

The Germans have never ceased to turn the embarrassments of the Belgian Government to their own account, and have in particular tried to discredit the Parliamentary system. It is of course anathema to the Nazi masters of Belgium that the representatives of free discussion and the members of a Government directly responsible to the people should be preferred to themselves. They have indeed gone out of their way to behave in an agreeable manner to the general public ; but their clumsy efforts have not disguised the fact that their prime purpose is to exploit Belgium for the benefit of Germany. The Belgian people know by now that the Nazi aim is to reduce all the subjugated nations to the position of German dependencies, directed from Berlin, and allowed to have only as much nourishment as will keep them fit to work for their task-masters. There is evidence that Nazi propaganda is failing of its effect even in the Flemish provinces, where racial and linguistic affinities have produced a handful of workers for union with the Reich. The propaganda is likely to be even less successful now that the respected Prime Minister of the country is once more exercising his duties in freedom, surrounded by three of his most trusted colleagues.

VI

THE FRENCH COLLAPSE

WHERE GUIDANCE FAILED

LEADERSHIP LACKING

From THE TIMES of June 24, 1940

"WHAT has *happened* to this country?" someone asked on board the tender which was to take us out from Bordeaux. The same question must haunt the minds of all who have known and loved France with her great qualities of courage, intelligence, and patriotism. No outsider has the right to recrimination against France in her hour of agony, following a titanic struggle against overwhelming masses of men and material. Before setting forth the melancholy tale of shortcomings in both the civil and military spheres it is the duty of any fair-minded observer to pay a heartfelt but wholly inadequate tribute to the people, the real people of France. The men were ready to fight, the people to suffer and endure. But the supreme leadership was lacking.

The collapse came from the top. Lack of foresight, fear of responsibility, divided counsel, outmoded military thinking, and, in some cases, a total inability to understand what Nazi Germany stands for and intends—all played their part in bringing France to her knees. Week after week moral failure led to material failure; material failure reacted upon moral resistance; until at last the vicious circle of defeat was complete.

When the war began France was still in the throes of internal political dissension and not altogether united on the question of fighting. It was, in fact, evident that a section of French opinion was against the war and inclined to blame England for involving her in support of Poland. The eight months of bloodless war, that "drôle de guerre," as the soldiers called it, left the troops grumbling at their inactivity, the generals comfortably convinced that their strategy—which had ignored the lesson of Poland—

was fool-proof, and the politicians happily pursuing their usual games.

M. Daladier, so long described as a strong man, was obliged to take M. Reynaud into his Cabinet as Minister of Finance—for the little Deputy for Paris had shown too much vision and courage to be ignored. The two men were never at ease with one another, and, when M. Reynaud's straight programme of work and sacrifice produced some inevitable grumbling from the selfish and fainthearted, M. Daladier began preparing the ground for his removal. A few days later the Norwegian storm broke. M. Reynaud was uneasily in the saddle, to be saved for the moment by the German onslaught of May 10.

On that day the writer called on M. Reynaud and received yet further proof of a clear-mindedness which, had it been joined to the ferocity of soul of a Clemenceau, would almost certainly have made him the saviour of his country. I found him greatly disturbed, and asked what was the matter. He told me that three or four days before he had, with expert assistance, gone into the conduct of the French operations in Norway and had discovered enough to convince him that he could no longer retain General Gamelin as Generalissimo. He had summoned M. Daladier, gone over the evidence with him, and announced his decision, whereupon M. Daladier utterly refused to agree to the change, saying that he would resign and provoke a political crisis. The matter had been placed before a Cabinet meeting the day before (May 9), and after a hot argument Ministers remained undecided. M. Reynaud was thinking of resignation, but a few hours later came the German general offensive. The President of the Republic called upon him to remain at his post and enlarge his Cabinet, which he did by the inclusion of MM. Marin and Ybarnégaray. But M. Daladier was still raising difficulties about the removal of Gamelin. Finally M. Reynaud decided that it would perhaps cause more harm than good to make such a change at such a critical hour.

The break-through on the Meuse, revealing the inadequacy of the French military preparations, was Gamelin's death-warrant. M. Reynaud called in General Weygand and entrusted him with the well-nigh impossible task of stopping the rot at once. That was fair enough. But he also called in the 84-year-old Marshal Pétain, and a fresh and most grievous joint in the French armour lay open. Marshal Pétain had rightly won a great reputation in

the last War But that was over 20 years ago Now he was old and tired, yet stubborn, none too friendly to the British, and, above all, steeped in a military tradition of the past. He had been launched as a figurehead to breast the seas of successful resistance , he remained to command a wrecked hull on the bitter waters of defeat.

Nevertheless, for a time things seemed to go better , the Weygand system of defence in depth slowed the enemy advance and exacted a heavy toll Gradually, however, the weight of numbers and material, above all material, began to tell Tanks, artillery, machine-guns cannot be handed over in the middle of a hot engagement The result was that the same men day after day had to fight on, a sleepless, nerve-racked, an ever-dwindling but glorious band, while fresh troops by the hundred thousand were held idle behind the lines.

Meanwhile, on the home front an atmosphere of fear, confusion, and defeatism began to close in It started first where it should have come last, among certain members of the Cabinet, officials, and many who by birth or circumstance owed it to their country to set an example. And while the political defeatists whispered away each other's moral, the people were kept in comfortable ignorance of events, so that the final news of an impending capitulation gave them no time for reaction other than stupefied grief.

In the Cabinet itself M Reynaud and that great-hearted fighter, M Georges Mandel, the Minister of the Interior, were putting up a struggle for continued resistance, but M Reynaud had unwittingly loaded the dice against himself. And the new Pétain Cabinet seemed to neglect no chance of cutting its own throat and that of the country with it. Pétain, self-deluded into the belief that a nice, honourable peace could be made between soldiers, overlooked Hitler's declared aim of annihilating France He and his advisers kept up their pitiful belief that France herself would be allowed an independent existence. They know better now—too late.

Even such a tragedy cannot obscure the great qualities of the French people as a whole, though they themselves admit that in part they are paying for years of laxity and indifference to the manner of their governing Many civilians were brave beyond the asking.

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THE PARTITION OF FRANCE

EXACTIONS UNDER THE ARMISTICE

DEFENCES AND INDUSTRIES

From THE TIMES of June 27, 1940

THE partition of France implicit in the German and Italian armistice terms is now proceeding. Whatever further measures of control the two marauders may have in store, the exactions already demanded by Hitler and Mussolini and accepted by the Pétain Government show that even on the highly improbable assumption that German exploitation of France does not extend beyond the controlled zone already fixed by the armistice terms, the booty that has fallen into Nazi hands is on a scale without precedent in the history of nations.

France has lost in territory alone, for an unpredictable period, more than half of her 212,000 square miles, and with it goes some of the nation's most fertile soil, most highly organized industries, most substantial natural resources. Moreover, large stores of war material and the whole of the French defensive system pass to the one invader or the other. It is impossible for the moment to compute even approximately the amount of arms and ammunition in good condition awaiting surrender to the enemy, but it must be very great.

A fair quantity of the tanks, armoured vehicles, guns, lorries, tractors, and machine-guns which have seen service may, of course, need reconditioning or be worn out, but material falling into this category will at least be good for scrap. The remainder will form military assets of a high order, for French tanks, light, medium, and heavy, are of first-rate quality, well armoured, manoeuvrable, and effectively armed. As for artillery, French guns have always held a deservedly high reputation, particularly the famous "75," and since there is plenty of ammunition available they represent a serious accretion to Germany's material strength.

In addition to the mobile material there is the huge accumulation of warlike stores of all kinds in the Maginot Line. Journalists who visited the French fortress system at the outset of the war were told by the commander of what was described as only a "second category" fort, holding 500 men, that they were

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adequately equipped for a three months' resistance on the basis of almost continuous siege, and that in case of need, by careful husbandry of their resources, they could hold out for six months. Not all the Maginot Line material could be dismantled for use. But here again what is unsuitable for immediate military use can largely be used as scrap. It may be, however, that the Germans will decide to keep the Maginot system intact as a first line of resistance in front of the Siegfried Line.

Some of the French armaments industries, such as the huge Schneider works at Le Creusot and the factories at St. Etienne, lie at present outside the occupied zones, but it is difficult to believe that a mere line on a map will deter the dictators from seizing such important prizes.

There is an abundance of valuable plant in the occupied zone, some of it concentrated in the normal industrial areas such as Paris and the Department of the Nord, the rest scattered here and there in accordance with shadow factory plans established before and during the war. The Paris area alone represents a huge potential of war production. There are, for example, the enormous Renault works at Boulogne-Billancourt on the Seine. Even before the war some 40,000 workers were employed there, and some expansion had taken place since. There are, too, many other factories of great importance, including the Simca motor-car works at Nantarre. A certain gloomy pleasure now attaches to the destruction of the Citroen works by the first mass German air raid of the war on June 3.

There is no way of telling how much plant was destroyed or removed, and although I saw some machinery on the road in lorries during the flight to Tours and Bordeaux, my impression was that those getting out gave little thought to such precautions. What has been moved and remains intact can be moved back, and no doubt the Germans will see to it that this is done, and done quickly. In view of the scant destruction of war plant it seems probable that little or nothing was done to deny to the enemy industries which can be put indifferently to military or civilian use such as coal, textile, and machinery of all kinds. One is forced to the unpalatable conclusion that all the material resources of France lie ready to the hand of the aggressor.

And what a list they make! Of minerals alone there are coal in the north, the iron ore of Lorraine, potash in Alsace, bauxite for making aluminium, salt, pyrites, antimony, lead,

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manganese, tungsten, china clay, and even a little gold. And the soil promises foodstuffs of all kinds—wheat and other cereals, sugar-beet, vegetables, and fruit, together with cattle, sheep, pigs, poultry, and horses, as well as dairy produce. Timber too, there is in plenty and huge reserves of turpentine in the lovely pine forests of the Landes.

Reserves of petrol and oil are other commodities impossible to compute; nor can it be known what proportion of refineries have survived. But there is some ground for encouragement in the recollection that storage facilities in France were not relatively large, since it was the custom to import chiefly the crude oil and refine it at home. Even after the outbreak of war petrol was given out to civilians on a lavish scale—at all events until the closing stages—simply because lack of storage capacity forced the refineries to get rid of the finished product somewhere. It is known that the tanks and refineries at Rouen were severely damaged and probably destroyed as the Germans approached, and British naval demolition parties, as well as the R.A.F., did yeoman work elsewhere.

So much for the material conquest. We must face the possibility that German ruthlessness will drive workers back to their benches, peasants back to their fields, the first to toil against their late Allies, the second to sweat for the feeding of their conquerors. Whatever happens Germany will have first call upon French soil—the granary and kitchen-garden of Western Europe. France herself, then, with close on 40,000,000 souls, is clearly doomed to bitter slavery, for it would be both unfair and unwise to expect any real resistance with such taskmasters at their head, so careless are the Nazis of human life and suffering.

THE TRAGEDY OF FRANCE

A SPECTACLE OF NATIONAL INDIFFERENCE

GERMAN AIRMEN AND THE R A F.

From THE TIMES of August 17, 1940

A PROBLEM for all who think about it is how to explain the amazing mental attitude which seems to prevail to-day in France. Most Frenchmen seem to regard the total collapse of their country with

a resignation that has the appearance of indifference. They are, indeed, dazed by the rapidity of the collapse, but register no violent reaction to so great and unexpected a shock. Soldiers in considerable numbers are being demobilized and returning home, and so, it is felt, the catastrophe cannot be too appalling. The German propaganda machine is working on this state of mind. The R.A.F. attacks upon the aerodromes in the occupied region are used as evidence that the British, who have already deserted their Ally, are now making direct onslaughts on the Frenchman's home.

There is little interest among the ordinary people in the manoeuvres of the Pétain Government. The Marshal himself is not looked upon with any enthusiasm. His achievements as a soldier in the last War are generally recognized, but his last-minute entry into politics makes little stir in the Frenchman's heart. On the other hand Laval, who has never been popular, excites almost general distaste. It would appear that Doriot is the only public figure who inspires any confidence at the moment, and that is because he is thought to be a man of the people. Few realize that it is Abetz, a man who was asked to leave France only a year ago for his anti-French activities, who now rules France. His orders are given at the frequent dinners which he enjoys with Laval in Paris, dinners which are matters of public comment and the objects of which little effort is made to conceal.

Vichy, for a nation which has reached the nadir in its history, gives an excellent picture of a certain French state of mind. Naturally the place is crowded beyond capacity. It is full of well-to-do refugees from occupied France, as well as French officers, immaculately accoutred, and political aspirants. They crowd the cafés, hotels and boulevards. The refugees and officers are enjoying the calm and the mild pleasures to be had there. The aspirants are busily fishing in the stirring political pool in the hope of finding an agreeable job. There is adequate food for those who can afford to buy it, always provided that you are not a butter lover or do not expect to find a wide selection of luxuries in the shops. Here is little evidence that France has suffered one of the greatest defeats in her history. Outside the boundaries of this temporary capital food is not so plentiful, yet in a minor degree the same spirit of indifference exists. The men are returning fairly quickly to their homes and to the harvests which have been in many cases ruined by inattention. But it is hard to discover any serious attempt to meet the formidable problems which are threatening the Vichy Government.

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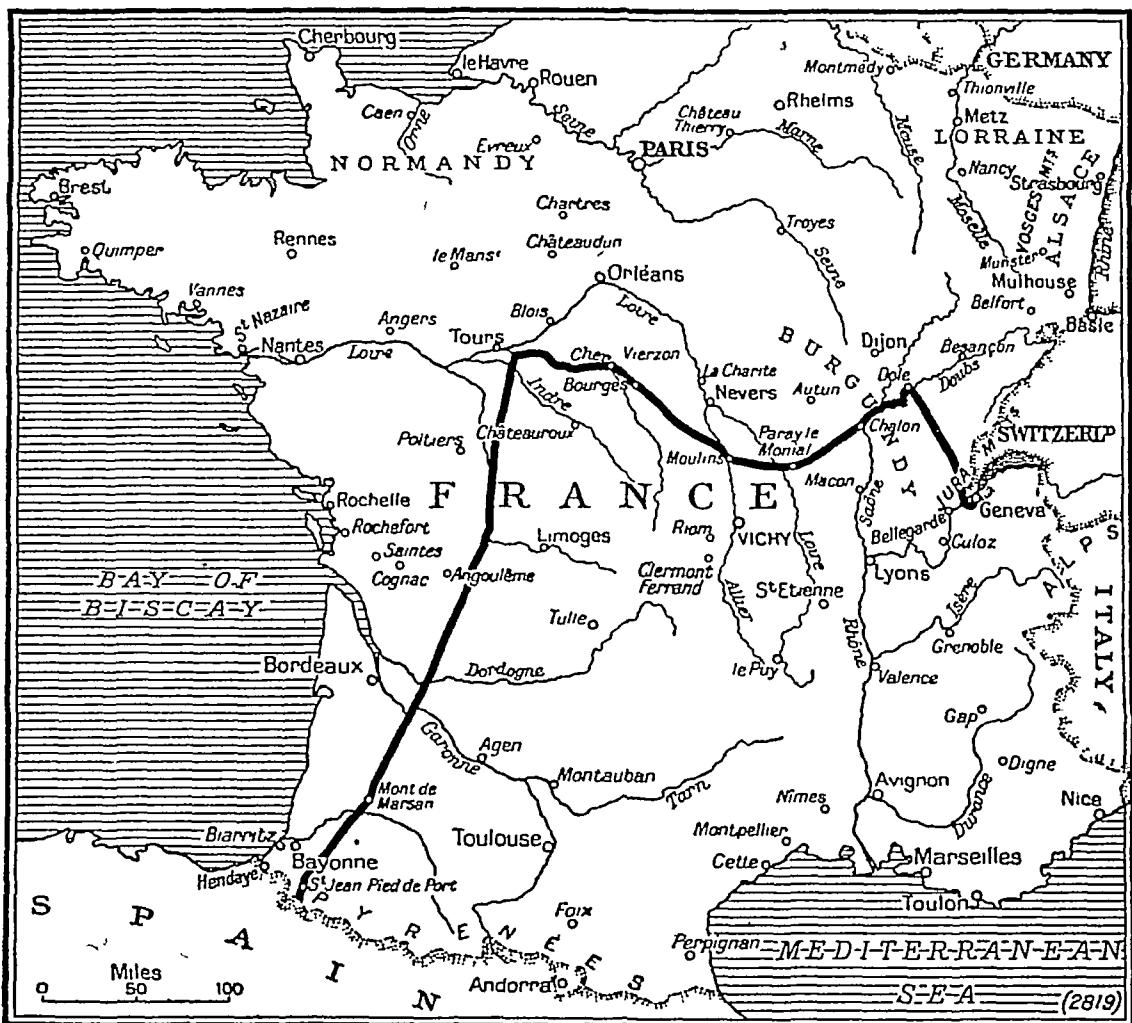
The opinion is often expressed that occupied France is in a much better shape, in spite of all the devastation, than the unoccupied territory. The Germans for many reasons are trying to whip into shape that part of the country which has fallen into their sphere of influence. Their problem is especially serious. North of Paris there exists a desert. Towns like Abbeville, Amiens, Cambrai, Arras, and scores of others are very largely destroyed, though in most places the churches and the cathedrals seem to be intact. The villages are deserted, the farmsteads empty. Crops are rotting on the ground. The first wave of the German Army consumed everything. It was, in fact, until a week or two ago a land of the dead, metaphorically and literally, since the corpses of men and animals still littered the ground. Now the people are slowly creeping back, only to find that there is little to eat and less to do. Everywhere the first pick of what is going falls to the army of occupation, the second to those who work for their German masters, the scanty crumbs that remain are left for those who fulfil neither of these conditions.

Nevertheless some attempt is made to regulate on a fixed scale the inadequate amount of consumable goods which are available. There is no lack of cash—marks printed by the presses follow the troops. These naturally are in the hands of the German soldiers and the folk who work for them, but they result in ready sales for anything on offer. The Germans have instituted a sort of Douglas social credit scheme upon which they base their mark-note issue. The backing for this spurious currency is said to be not the counterfeit capitalist backing of gold but the more solidly founded reserve of work done. As a temporary measure it may be all very fine, but marks printed, even with such a basis, cannot produce the food and necessities of life which simply are not there. The gloomy fact is that in time, unless something radical is done, there will be nothing to buy at all.

The Germans are aware of this. Already their propaganda is putting the blame in advance upon the British blockade. They have immense faith in propaganda, not so much as a panacea to solve all the riddles of the situation, but as an excuse when the inevitable failure comes. The German army is a propaganda machine as well as a fighting force. The storm troops, those who have borne the brunt of the heavy fighting and made victory so swiftly possible, are propagandists to a man. They have a fanatical belief in Hitler and an equally fanatical hatred of England. They sweep through to their victories, grim-faced young

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men, without any feelings except those conditioned into them , old warriors with the minds of infants. After them comes a different type of soldier, older, less fanatic : Austrians, Bavarians, and East Prussians Each company of these has its pep talker, who interminably dins into their ears that England is Jew-ridden, a cesspool of international capitalists and Communists, a Moloch who wants the world so that she can devour it all for herself.



They may not believe all they are told, but they, too, have a faith in Hitler. Their hostility to England is not very deep rooted. It is, however, England who stands against a swift and final victory, and therefore between them and their families and beer gardens. Back to "Mutter" is in effect the cry of the second-line soldiers. But that does not mean they will not continue to follow Hitler wherever he may choose to lead them.

The unexpected delay in the much advertised attack upon England has also been having its effect upon the German Air

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Force. A neutral observer who was privileged to have a squadron parked in the woods near his home, and who constantly came into contact with both officers and men, disclosed a little about this vital branch of Hitler's army. He found that on the whole the officers were fine physical types, courageous and decent. In recent weeks he had noticed a considerable increase in the number of very young pilots joining the squadron. There was, however, no suggestion that these new arrivals had any connexion with heavy pilot losses. For the system in vogue in the German Air Force tends to conceal from the serving officer and man all accurate knowledge of casualties. The squadrons do not operate as units, a few planes from squadrons all over the country make up the German battle flights. Further to fortify this policy of concealment of losses, pilots and crews are almost continually transferred from one unit to another. While individual pilots would express admiration for British R.A.F. fighting qualities, the squadron as a whole believed implicitly in the German machines and men. Such faith in their own invincibility has brought about a noticeable impatience with the prolonged delay in the promised attack upon England, which they have been led to believe was a matter to be completed within a very few weeks. Nor are the German Flying Corps averse from going home to enjoy the laurels of their stupendous triumphs.

This belief in their own superior qualities comes largely of intensive propaganda, since visible proof is too often lacking. The British bombing raids on Belgian and French air bases are carried out with the greatest success. An informant who had occasion to be on the Channel coast, near Calais, could observe the effect of the British bombing on the gun emplacements which have been and are being constructed at regular intervals from Dunkirk southwards. The closing of this coastal zone to a depth of from twenty to thirty miles inland is in part due to these raids, as well as to screen from prying eyes the concentrations which the Germans are making there. The people of this district are still mostly pro-British and consequently potential spies; peasants of Picardy and Artois have bravely helped British soldiers and others to escape, running grave risks themselves. To break down this feeling the Germans plan all they can to discredit the British.

One case of refined cruelty was witnessed at Malines, where a body of British prisoners were being marched east. They were in full uniform except for their tin hats. These had been replaced by a variegated assortment of every kind of headgear, male or

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female bowler hats, toppers, caps, homburgs, women's bonnets, berets, plumed Ascot models. A pathetically ridiculous spectacle Its only purpose could have been to make the weary men look clownish or to suggest to the French inhabitants that British troops had been looting the shops. Other tales of discrimination between British and French prisoners of war are common Nevertheless, on the whole, the treatment of prisoners whose care is left to the second-line troops is not too bad.

From other parts of occupied France come reports that the Germans are getting down to the question of the British subjects still in residence. At first they were left alone. Now it is learned that the residents in the Bayonne-St. Jean de Luz districts are being gathered and put under some sort of surveillance. The first intention was to put them into a concentration camp, but finally the German authorities requisitioned an hotel and are now keeping them there under fairly reasonable conditions. As yet southern France has not suffered from any great shortage of commodities It is even suggested that the fate of British residents in German-occupied France is more pleasant than under the Vichy Government French people may be indifferent, but the official is often hostile The virulent attacks which the *Gringoire* of Marseilles maintains daily against England are certainly not entirely spontaneous A similar trend is observed in most of the Press in unoccupied France It may not have any great effect upon the feeling among the ordinary people, but it does offer an excuse for official hostility to the British.

A CHANGE OF FEELING IN FRANCE

GROWING RALLY OF SYMPATHY FOR BRITAIN

REGRETS FOR THE DAKAR FAILURE

From THE TIMES of October 18, 1940

THERE is in France and in the French Colonies a rapidly growing feeling of sympathy for the British cause. This is the unanimous opinion of the many Frenchmen who have managed to escape the country. The very fact that so many do make their way out of

France or away from the African possessions is in itself some indication of the determination to fight on which does exist. For every man who is successful dozens are turned back or are unable to evade the vigilant watch kept by the Germans or their agents on the frontiers. All those who have made their way out have suffered hardships which only men certain of their cause would have voluntarily undergone.

In contrast with the indifference, and even hostility, of many Frenchmen of three months ago there is now said to be a majority who, if permitted to express a free opinion, would leave little doubt where their sympathies lay. This transformation of spirit has grown naturally out of the native sanity of the French people themselves, as well as from the trend of events since France capitulated. Perhaps it is unfortunate that more has not been done to water this fertile soil by propaganda or action. British broadcasts suffer from jamming, and ordinary French radio sets are too weak to pick up the programmes. The change in opinion has flowed naturally from the heartening fact of British resistance, a resistance which neither German boasting nor the inflation of German military prowess and lampooning of British military "ineptitude" by the inspired Press has been able to shout or write down.

To-day even in that controlled Press, in such papers as the *Dépêche* of Toulouse, the great newspaper of the Midi, there is a noticeable indifference towards Vichy, while journals like *Figaro* and *Candide*, though they bow to the Vichy will, carefully avoid taking any anti-British line.

Some Frenchmen think it peculiar that the British have not taken greater advantage of both the open and latent feeling expressed most strongly in the Midi and the Pyrenean districts. Throughout unoccupied France the immense majority of the people are completely ignorant of what is happening outside France. They only know what it is considered good for them to know and all their news is strongly laced with German propaganda. They are, for instance, quite unaware of the British Government's offer to the Reynaud Government at Bordeaux. They have heard no word of the agreement with General de Gaulle by which the restitution of France in the plenitude of her power is guaranteed in case of victory. No news of the successes of the R.A.F. in their resistance to the German attacks or in carrying the counter-offensive into Germany ever gets through the Vichy censor. Nor

is any hint given of the possibility of a defeat of Hitler. More vigorous action on the part of the British and of General de Gaulle would be welcomed. A month of concentrated propaganda of the right kind would have an appreciable effect in a country already in large part disillusioned with the Vichy Government. It would, moreover, prepare the ground for any daring strategic move which might be contemplated.

The case of Dakar and its effects on popular feeling are interesting; the general reaction was different from that after the battle of Oran. In the state of bewilderment which existed at the time, the naval action at Mers-el-Kebir was easily twisted so as to have the worst possible effect on the public attitude towards England. The action at Dakar was certainly deeply regretted, not perhaps for the attack itself, as for the failure to press it home to success. But the burden of the blame is put not so much on the British as upon General de Gaulle for having shown a lack of resolution and for having seemed to have been outwitted in a matter of vital importance for the Free French cause. Naturally the Vichy Government used the incident further to buttress their attacks on Great Britain, but without great success.

It would be wrong to suppose that Marshal Pétain has no support in the country. While the future development of the war is so obscure, Vichy can claim the active or passive backing of certain elements in France. Those are partly moneyed people who have something to lose and hope to save something by clinging to the chariot-wheels of the Marshal. Others, often honest men and patriots, are disgusted with the past and believe that the regeneration of France is possible through some such programme as the Vichy Government has proclaimed. There are still others, like Charles Maurras, who in a recent article in *L'Action Française* stated that one should support Vichy because only by so doing could France maintain her liberty of action now and in the future. Finally there are those who are still mesmerized by the magnitude of German military power and too timorous or too little concerned to risk supporting the Free French cause.

These tendencies among certain sections of the population are strengthened by the widespread belief that within a few weeks the Germans will take over the whole of France. Such a move is not improbable and would have two main purposes, to control the Mediterranean coastline and the Pyrenean frontier

more effectively and to harness French industry in the south to the pressing needs of the Reich. A high German official is reported to have said that it was vitally necessary for the Germans, if they are to gain the victory, to forestall always and everywhere any possible British move. The Germans are anxious to find industries outside the range of British bombers so as to maintain their essential war output. The manufacturing centres of Lyons and elsewhere in Southern France might conceivably meet such a need in part.

The consequences of such a German move to the supporters of General de Gaulle in France and the Colonies are difficult to estimate. The effect must be to increase the numbers of those who will feel that the only hope for France is the formation of another Government in North Africa or elsewhere. But all reports from Morocco and the Mediterranean possessions state that German control has within recent weeks shown a strong and rapid increase. The so-called armistice and disarmament commissions which have gone to Tunis, Algeria, Casablanca, and Dakar have been followed by civilian as well as military personnel who are assuming effective control of the key services. It is for this reason that the failure at Dakar is regretted as a misfortune by so many Frenchmen.

Hitler over France

From THE TIMES of July 9, 1940

The adaptable personality of M. Laval makes him a fitting sponsor of the impending revision of the French Constitution. No doubt exists of the significance of the change. The Third Republic is dead. The empty shell may be preserved. But in everything that matters the National Assembly which meets this week at Vichy will undo the work of the National Assembly which met at Versailles nearly seventy years ago. The Third Republic, born as it has died within range of the guns of a German invader, has had a stormy career. The Constitution of 1875 never enjoyed the unreserved allegiance of all patriotic Frenchmen. But there can be few Frenchmen anywhere who will not mourn the manner of its going, or who will believe that the new Constitution is likely to contribute more than its predecessor to the prosperity, to the stability, or to the honour of France.

More indeed may be involved than the end of the Third Republic Report has it that the motto of the French Revolution, *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*, will be abandoned in favour of some more anodyne triad That the reality which this motto represented would disappear was indeed a foregone conclusion But we may feel some surprise that even Hitler's French pupils should tamper with a symbol which has for a hundred years represented, not merely for millions of Frenchmen, but for men of courage and enlightenment all over the world, the spirit of a progressive European civilization. Next Sunday a free France would have honoured another world-famous symbol—the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. But will the new dictators venture to celebrate the overthrow of an autocracy far less grievous than that which they are now binding on the neck of France ?

M. Laval has announced his desire "to keep France free from interference on the part of Britain" He may be reassured. The new Constitution which he is preparing will be untainted by British influence. Its purpose, baldly described, will be to place France under the absolute power of Hitler. By way of compliment to Mussolini, whose share in the victory might otherwise be forgotten, some of the forms of the corporative State are apparently to be introduced. For what the difference is worth, France will be Fascist rather than Nazi. The hard reality is that France will be in all things subservient to German policy. So far as the writ of her new Government runs, her resources will be absorbed into the German war machine ; her industrial workers will produce armaments for Germany, her agriculturists food for the German Army and the German people ; and her foreign policy will be that of the Reich It is a bitter reflection for France's former Ally, as it must be for most Frenchmen, that the chief agents of this policy will be the victor of Verdun and Foch's principal coadjutor in the victory of 1918 But this is the reality which we have to face. All that is left of free France must now be sought, if not on foreign soil, at any rate outside her metropolitan territory.

Of Hitler's ultimate designs for France little has yet been allowed to emerge But there has been one revealing indiscretion by a member of the Pétain Cabinet. M. Pomaret, the Minister of Labour, has explained that the new France will abandon her "exaggerated industrialism" and become once more a land of peasant agriculture This is the policy which Germany has for

the past few years been trying, in virtue of her commercial stranglehold, to impose on the Balkans. It is the policy which she is even now trying to enforce in Denmark and Holland. According to the German reading of history, the power of Great Britain has been based on her position throughout the nineteenth century as the centre of the world's industrial production, using non-industrialized colonies and subject territories oversea as her market, as her granary, and as the source of her raw materials. The German dream is to emulate the British achievement, as Germany sees it. Germany is to be the great industrial and military power in the centre of the Continent. The rest of Europe is to be her colonial territory, which will feed and supply her and be a market for her products, but which will not be allowed to industrialize itself in competition with her. In this scheme of things France, the richest jewel in Germany's newly acquired empire, will play an important part. The great French industries—other, no doubt, than those which serve immediate German military needs—are doomed to sudden extinction or to slow decay. The French people will become hewers of wood and tillers of the soil for their German masters.

It is no accident that this policy should have found support among French politicians of the Right, for the motley party-complexion of the Pétain Government cannot conceal its essential character as an alliance between extreme Right and the small groups of French Fascists. The rift in France between town and country, between proletarian and peasant, aggravated by the Commune of 1871 and by the severity of its repression, has never been wholly healed; and that section of the Right which was once Legitimist and is still fervently Catholic—the section to which men like Marshal Pétain and General Weygand belong by training and tradition—has always counted on the Catholic peasant to save France from the turbulent and free-thinking industrial worker. Blind to the fact that, in the twentieth century, a peasant France can be no more than the helot of an industrialized Germany these honest zealots are ready to play into Hitler's hands by a campaign against French industrialism and the French proletariat.

All the symptoms of the campaign are developing rapidly. A rigorous censorship has extinguished the Press of the Left; only a few newspapers are allowed to appear at all. An order has been issued for the arrest of four well-known French journalists. The fate of the trade unions is unknown. The Communists are in concentration camps, in hiding, or in flight. The prospects

of the Socialists—except for the small quasi-Fascist group of which M Marquet is the leader—are little brighter. It is both appropriate and significant that the Government should have selected as its seat not the great industrial city of Lyons, the natural capital of unoccupied France, but a favourite health resort for valetudinarians. From time to time Hitler delights to dramatize himself as a revolutionary St. George overthrowing the dragons of privilege and reaction. The nature of the new French régime which he has chosen as his tool is a singular commentary on this pretension. By the grace of Hitler, reaction rules in France

France Despoiled

From THE TIMES of June 27, 1940

The spoliation of France, which Nazi Germany began, has been completed by Italy, at least in so far as Europe and Africa are concerned. On paper Mussolini obtains a larger share of the spoils than his confederate, but, whereas Hitler's share is in the hand, Mussolini's is still mostly in the bush—or the desert. Hitler's army took what he wanted it to take in six weeks of heavy fighting; Mussolini has won his victory by blackmail and manoeuvre. According to the first clause of the Franco-Italian Armistice the Italian troops are to "stand on their advanced lines in all theatres of operation." They have done little else since their war began. Last Monday, it is true, a grandiose Roman *communiqué* announced that "On the Alpine front from Mont Blanc to the sea our troops started a general offensive on June 21 . . . the advance of our troops proceeds along the whole front." But at the very same moment Mussolini was arranging armistice negotiations with the Pétain Government, which had already capitulated to Germany; so that it was improbable that his troops would have to brave the resistance of the French for very long. Seldom indeed in history can a conqueror have won so large a prize so cheaply or so meanly. France is spared the humiliation of an occupation in the south which would have left her no territory at all that she could still have called her own. But that is the only consolation she can draw from Marshal Pétain's second surrender, and it is seriously modified not only by the promise conceded to Italy to demilitarize Toulon, one of the two great naval arsenals of the country—

and the other is already in German hands—but also by the fact that these armistice terms are not to be taken as Italy's final demands France is indeed being rendered completely defenceless She has agreed to demilitarize not only Toulon, but Ajaccio, Bizerta, and Oran as well, and to hand over her rights in the port and railway of Jibuti; and to demilitarize wide zones in Tunisia, Algeria, and French Somaliland and along the Franco-Italian frontier—and all within fifteen days Italian troops are reported to have entered Nice and to be occupying French Savoy. There is no allusion to these places in the summary of conditions so far published, but whole provinces are being taken from France without her having even the power to protest Marshal Pétain may still, in the manner of the late Dr. Coué, assure her on the radio that she "will still be free"; she is in fact, so far at least as Continental France is concerned, bound hand and foot to the enemy Her weapons of war, her chief industrial areas, her munition works, and her aerodromes cease to belong to her They are for others to use, and to use against France's Ally, against the country at whose side she was still standing last week and with whom she had undertaken to fight to the end.

The apparent surrender in Europe and Africa is so colossal that it is still impossible to appraise it; and in Africa it has not yet become, and may never become, a *de facto* surrender. Neither Italy nor Germany is in the position directly to effect the demilitarization of the African ports, except perhaps Jibuti—where of course the Italian Government could long ago have obtained all the special facilities she really needed by a process of negotiation. It seems almost inconceivable that France should renounce by a stroke of the pen the work of her great empire-builders, Jules Ferry, Lyautey, and the others, who gave her a population of over fifty millions in North, West, and Central Africa It is true that none of these territories has actually been demanded of her in the terms of the armistice; but the demilitarization of their strong-points means either that she is prepared to lose them later or that she is confident that a British victory will see her reinstated there. Reinstated she may be; but meanwhile it is to be hoped that Frenchmen wherever free will still afford such help as they can towards winning this war. That certainly is the present intention of the Governors and peoples of the French Colonial possessions. Without exception they have declared their wish to continue the battle. The North African provinces are well garrisoned and well protected. Their

native armies are the largest in Africa. They are eager to fight. They can be kept in regular communication with the French National Committee in London and with the British Government not only *via* the Straits of Gibraltar but also through Rabat and Casablanca, on the Atlantic coast, which have rail connexion with Algiers and Tunis. It will presumably make a great difference to General Nogués and his fellow-Governors, in reaching their final decision, if they know that they can count on the necessary supplies coming to them from the countries of the British Empire. They know already that the British Government are ready to make the financial arrangements required for the continuance of the war.

The fate of the French fleets is still uncertain, and is also, of course, a matter of concern to this country. The Germans in any case made no haul of warships worth mentioning in Brest. And it can hardly be believed that the French merchant marine will obey the orders of the Italian and German Governments, and make a surrender which Norwegians, Dutch, and Belgians refused to contemplate. That the spirit of resistance still exists among Frenchmen has been shown in a thousand ways during these last tragic days. Other countries have met disaster and risen again. The Turkish Press finds a parallel between the position of France to-day and that of their own country after the last War. Then the Sultan and his elderly Pashas, it writes, bowed to harsh conditions; but the great Kemal Ataturk gathered round him the young, healthy, and patriotic elements of the nation and placed Turkish independence upon an unassailable foundation.

The Spirit of France

From THE TIMES of October 18, 1940

Recent information from unoccupied France reveals two sharply contrasted trends which illustrate the growing cleavage between the Vichy Government and those unfortunate Frenchmen subjected to its feeble and precarious authority. Signs are appearing that the French people have begun to shake off the stupor of betrayal and defeat. In the first reaction from the shock of the Armistice, wishful thinking induced the belief that the cessation of fighting heralded a return to some, at any rate, of

the comforts and amenities of peace. So long as this mood lasted, it was possible for Nazi propaganda, through its mouthpieces at Vichy, to exploit latent anti-British feeling and to encourage the inclination to place on Britain the burden and the shame of the French collapse. But for some time past the hard-headed Frenchman has been given too much evidence of the realities of Nazi control to nurse any illusions as to the future which awaits him in the event of a German victory over Britain. As the former Paris Correspondent of the *New York Times* said in a message reproduced in these columns on Wednesday, the clear purpose of the Nazi authorities is to break the spirit of France by creating a sense of impotence among her people. The whole country—the unoccupied as well as the occupied part—is ruthlessly exploited to meet the requirements of the Nazi war machine. No vestige of confidence can be reposed in a Government which can do nothing to protect the interests of its subjects or to avert the creeping paralysis which has overtaken French industry and agriculture. Only a British victory can still save France from the full consequences of the disaster which has overtaken her. Frenchmen in France, like Frenchmen oversea, are beginning once more to think of the British cause as their own.

The reawakening of the French spirit has probably been stimulated by the extraordinary attitude of the Vichy Government, which, moving in the opposite direction to public opinion, has travelled farther and farther along the path of compliance. The men of Vichy appear to fall into two categories: There are the few honest men—Marshal Pétain himself is the outstanding example—who still retain some measure of the regard of their compatriots, but who, in a strange ecstasy of self-humiliation, seem determined to drain the cup of bitterness to the bottom. There are the many schemers and self-seekers, familiar figures in recent French politics, who will sacrifice anything, even the most sacred interests of their country, provided that they are allowed to wield the semblance, and to reap the profits, of power. Between these two groups nothing is omitted which can emphasize the eagerness of the Vichy Government to ape its Nazi and Fascist masters. The outcry against Jews, foreigners, and freemasons is in full swing. The Riom trials are already revealed as a fiasco. For, while they disgust all decent Frenchmen, they have signally failed to appease Rome or Berlin; and it remains to be seen whether the tragic farce will be played out to the end. Meanwhile

THE SPIRIT OF FRANCE

M. Baudoin complains bitterly of the British blockade at the moment when the Nazi authorities, with full complicity of the Vichy Government, are draining France of the produce of French soil. Though British people are reluctant to treat unoccupied France as hostile territory, and though they cannot think of Frenchmen as enemies, the Vichy Government is adopting towards Great Britain an attitude scarcely distinguishable from that of declared enemy Governments.

It is in the French Colonial Empire that this attitude becomes most patent and takes forms most distressing to this country. In France the men of Vichy could at least plead helplessness in extenuation of their subservience to Germany. In their policy oversea they have gone out of their way to cringe to the dictators. General Weygand is reported to have left for Africa on an undefined mission which, since it was announced with approval by the German radio, must be presumed to have been inspired by Berlin. Pressure from Berlin no doubt explains the instructions sent to the Governor of French Indo-China to give passage to the troops of Germany's Far-Eastern partner for the purpose of attacking China. In Syria self-abasement before an Italian armistice commission charged with the disarmament of French troops is the order of the day. Ships which have escaped from Dakar, whose Governor was decorated the other day by Marshal Pétain for displaying "qualities of leadership" for his resistance to General de Gaulle, declared that the port has been virtually under Nazi control since July. Everywhere the policy of the Vichy Government is to perpetuate the humiliation of defeat. The overwhelming majority of Frenchmen can no longer regard its proceedings with anything but disgust. It must only be a matter of time before they begin to see in General de Gaulle and his collaborators, who in the darkest hour planted the standard of independence on British soil, and who have now hoisted it on French soil in Africa and Oceania, the representatives of the true and undying spirit of France.

An Invitation to Suicide

From THE TIMES of October 28, 1940

Hitler has been busy trying to persuade the Vichy Government to sell their country and their Empire. The deal is not yet consummated and there is yet time for public

opinion in France, in the French Army, and in the French Empire to prevent the betrayal. All that Marshal Pétain could be induced to accept at Saturday's meeting under the pressure and the blandishments brought to bear upon him was an agreement in principle to collaborate in the reconstruction of peace. This is the phrase used in the official statement issued in Vichy, which adds that the manner of application will be examined later. M. Laval, the Vice-President, is making another pilgrimage to Paris, his third within a week, to discuss details of the fresh surrender demanded from France.

There seems to be no serious doubt about the leading features of the terms now under discussion. France is to surrender Alsace-Lorraine to Germany; the Alpes Maritimes and certain Mediterranean territories to Italy; part of Morocco to Spain, and Indo-China to Japan, who is already treating that French colony as if it were her own. The Axis Powers moreover are to be given the free use of all French harbours and aerodromes, apparently including those in the French oversea possessions as well as in France. It is obvious that what is required from France, apart from the territories which are to be handed over to her enemies before they have won the war, is in effect her active assistance to enable them to win it. This would not be collaboration for the reconstruction of peace but collaboration in war against the ally to whom France had pledged herself to continue the fight to the end. In return for this dishonour and for the division of her Empire among her enemies France is to be content with vague assurances of a tolerable place in the Nazi economic system—assurances which, when it suits him, Hitler will disregard as completely as he disregarded the undertakings given to Czecho-Slovakia, to Poland, and indeed to every country which he has planned to invade and despoil.

So long as the French Government remain within the area of German pressure instead of establishing themselves in one of their possessions oversea, where they would be able to act independently, they can only negotiate with Germany, as Marshal Pétain put it, with the halter round their necks. It is a bitter paradox that in all his discussions with Ribbentrop the only asset which M. Laval can use is the growing strength and successful resistance of Great Britain. If the war since the collapse of France had gone as Hitler and Mussolini planned it, they would not now be asking anything of France. They would be taking all they wanted with no one to say them nay.

AN INVITATION TO SUICIDE

Whatever M Laval and such Frenchmen as are of his way of thinking may say or do, it is still incredible that any soldier true to the traditions of the French Army and nation could accept the dishonourable and suicidal terms now put to his country. They are the repudiation of all that Marshal Pétain hoped to secure by his armistice and of the aims, however mistaken, which have guided the conduct of men like General Weygand and General Nogués. All the declarations of loyalty to the Vichy Government which have been made by the Administrators and Generals in the French possessions outside Europe have been based, many of them explicitly based, upon the assumption that the Vichy Government would defend, as it promised to defend, the integrity of the French Empire. They become free to follow their instincts as patriotic Frenchmen when huge portions of that Empire are to be handed over to the enemy and even the unceded and unoccupied territories to be used as bases against the ally by whose side they have fought.

Acceptance of these terms would be fatal to France. They would add to the difficulties confronting this country and delay the final victory which we are confident of winning. They also involve dangers to the United States, as is fully recognized in Washington. Mr Cordell Hull in an admirable speech has made it plain that the State Department are fully alive to all the implications of Hitler's diplomatic strategy. No effort has been spared either by the British or the American Government to strengthen the resistance which, even in Vichy, is still being offered to the new proposals for surrender. The King's personal message to Marshal Pétain, it is believed, like Mr. Churchill's broadcast to France, expressed the admiration and sympathy felt for the French people in this country and British confidence in a victory which will restore France to her great place among the nations. Mr Roosevelt has also sent a personal message to the Marshal, the contents of which have not been disclosed but may easily be guessed from Mr. Cordell Hull's speech and from the very frank talk which Mr Sumner Welles had last week with the French Ambassador in Washington. For the French Government at this critical moment to declare themselves the vassals of Hitler and to allow French ports and air stations to be used as bases for aggression would not only put France in an attitude of open hostility to this country, it would also kill the warm friendship which has existed for a hundred and fifty years between France and the United States. Hitler's purpose

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is plain. Foiled in his plans to break British resistance and with the Italian attack upon the Suez Canal hanging fire, he is seeking, before destroying France, to use her as his tool in a new offensive. The adhesion of France to his "new European order" would probably be used as the pretext for a spurious offer of peace, which, with Hitler, is nothing but a weapon of war, as all his record shows. The offer would be spurned and the offensive broken, and the war will go on until the forces of evil are smashed. Only that victory can restore the independence of France and the integrity of her Empire, and a vanguard of thousands of free Frenchmen are already pledged to share in all sacrifices to secure it.

VII

THE DESCENT INTO RUMANIA

AXIS HOLD ON BALKAN TRADE ROUTES

A GLUM POPULACE

From THE TIMES of October 14—21, 1940

FOUR hundred uniformed officers and orderlies of the German Army are installed in various hotels in Bucharest. They arrived in a train of which one part drew up at the royal station at Magosoaia, just outside the capital. The station was decorated with flags, and bombing aircraft of German type, but without markings, flew overhead. The officers were greeted by General Antonescu, the Rumanian Prime Minister, Horia Sima, and the German and Italian Ministers in Bucharest, with a formation of Iron Guards in attendance.

The German officers include two divisional generals, three major-generals, and eleven colonels, for whom an entire floor was requisitioned at the Athenee Palace Hotel. Rumanian soldiers are on guard outside. Some thirty Gestapo agents are already at the hotel and are busy organizing a Rumanian counterpart of the Gestapo. The first sign of this was the sudden breakdown of all internal and foreign telephone communications. Although rumours of the officers' impending arrival began to circulate on Friday night, when a group of German Air Force officers and orderlies appeared in the city, the event took the population by surprise. The inevitable popular reactions became evident at once, although members of the German minority were naturally in high spirits and a few of the officers' cars were hung with garlands. The newcomers brought with them a large quantity of luggage, as well as fifty or sixty military cars, and about as many private cars.

Although the number of German troops in Rumania is not seriously estimated at much more than 20,000 or 30,000, it is known that many more are coming, and some guesses go up to

ten divisions Authentic reports say that troops have been arriving in many parts of the provinces Those stationed around Timisoara came by way of Hungary, and this also applies to those in the Braso and the oilfield districts There is no doubt that many have arrived in Danube barges. There are now several thousand troops, with tanks and trucks, stationed in villages round Bucharest Throughout yesterday crowds of curious sightseers stood staring glumly at the military cars outside the Athenee Palace Hotel, which, as a centre of popular interest, is now beginning to rival even Mme. Lupescu's house, recently thrown open to visitors at threepence a sight, the proceeds to go to the Iron Guards' winter help fund

In diplomatic circles here it is suggested that, while it serves the useful purpose of assisting the reorganization of the Rumanian Army, this influx of German officers is intended first of all as a demonstration According to one report, the admission of German troops, already agreed on in principle at the time of the Vienna award, has now been enlarged in scope in consequence of the Brenner meeting There, it is suggested, Mussolini insisted again on a free hand in Greece, whereupon Hitler decided on a quick stroke to keep Turkey in check. Germans are saying openly that Hungary and Bulgaria will soon be occupied as well.

Italian Air Force officers in uniform are disporting themselves in Bucharest They form part of the Italian Air Force commission which is to supervise the preparation of a seaplane base at Constanza. A German naval mission was expected, no doubt in connexion with the proposed naval base at Mamaia

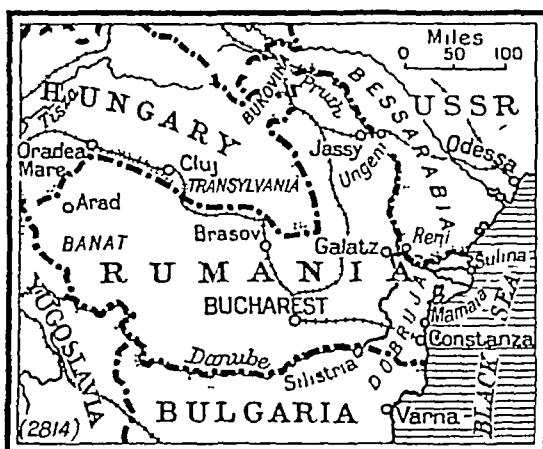
Troops continue to arrive, especially at Orsova and Giurgiu. They are travelling down the Danube, although a large number—according to some estimates, even as many as a division—have also been coming in by air. These, however, have nearly all been drafted to the provinces It is reported from a source which is usually trustworthy that about a score of German fighter aircraft have been sent to Ungeni, on the Rumanian bank of the River Pruth, which forms the Soviet frontier.

The Rumanian public is now rapidly awakening to the fact of the occupation, and is reacting accordingly Fresh restrictions were imposed on the sale of meat and the police say that hundreds of thousands of pamphlets attacking the policy of the Iron Guard were distributed secretly throughout the country From internal evidence, it appears that these pamphlets must have originated

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among disaffected elements of the Iron Guard in Transylvania. For weeks discontent has been rife in that area, and Hungarian atrocities in the ceded district naturally fanned the flame. It is unlikely, however, that this disaffection can have the effect, in present conditions, of weakening the Iron Guard as a whole.

Nevertheless, discontent is serious, and it is backed by the National Peasant Party, which Dr. Maniu continues to keep alive and active. He recently warned the Prime Minister that the organization of his party would now be improved, and that the party would work as hard as ever against the German occupation. It is worth noting that Soviet observers have lately been keeping a particularly close watch on this aspect of the Rumanian situation.



General Speidel and General Hansen, who command the German armed forces in Rumania, are already comporting themselves with scant regard for even the appearances of Rumanian independence. They thus made a formal courtesy call on the Turkish Ambassador in Bucharest as a demonstration of Turko-German cordiality. The fact that it was the Turkish Ambassador who was singled out for this curious honour is taken by most observers as a bad sign. German officers are already saying openly that within three weeks Rumanian-Turkish relations will probably have ceased to exist.

The reaction of Soviet Russia continues to be reserved, and tension is clearly increasing. Considerable movements of Soviet troops, including tanks and motorized forces, have been observed near Dorohoi, in Bukovina; reinforcements have been sent to the area where the Danube joins the Pruth opposite Galatz; and

there has been a sudden acceleration in the preparation of an enlarged airport at Cernauti

Galatz itself has now been mined by the Rumanians under German supervision, and German officers are saying that the last of the German submarines has not yet arrived. The influx of German troops appears to have slackened, at least by way of the Danube. Flying over the Danube to-day on my way here from Bucharest, I noticed that river traffic appears now to be more or less normal. The word "normal" cannot, however, be applied to Rumania's internal situation, where extreme tension prevails.

Although General Antonescu, the Prime Minister, is still striving with empty assurances to keep the British mission in the capital, he is clearly only following the wishes of the Germans, who are terrified that we shall bomb the oilfields before they are ready for it. Moreover, the Prime Minister's assurances have had no effect on the police, the Iron Guard, and the Gestapo, whose activities have combined to produce an atmosphere more terrible even than that of Warsaw during the bombardments. A band of Greenshirt "thugs," for instance, visited the home of Mr. Andrew Pember, Press Attaché at the British Legation, and demanded to see him, all the while fingering their weapons. Happily he was not at home.

The kind of treatment to be expected at the Greenshirts' hands is now well known, but it varies in different cases. One man was taken to the woods and was there beaten up and kicked about. Another was made to stand with an apple on his head, which the "thugs" then shot at. Another trick is to offer the victim his freedom and then to shoot as he walks away. Anonymous warnings and threats are common, and the Gestapo are furnishing their Greenshirt minions with a long black-list. The first warning that a victim may have is the discovery that his telephone has been cut off. This disagreeable discovery was made last night by myself in the house where I was living.

General Antonescu gave a banquet, on October 14, in honour of what is still euphemistically called the German military mission. In his speech he referred to the "brilliant German Army, representing a brilliant military civilization," and even remarked with confidence on the fact that General Hansen had fought against Rumania in the last war. General Antonescu's final achievement was a complimentary reference to General Speidel's last important job—namely, the command of the troops which

invaded Holland. Such a speech is as good an indication as any of the Prime Minister's state of mind. In a recent interview with a foreign diplomatist he solemnly announced that "General Antonescu never tells a lie" when his visitor questioned an assertion that there were no German troops in Rumania.

The occupation has disgusted the public. Those people who were pro-German before are now talking English at the top of their voices everywhere, and the German officers and men are in general treated with contempt. Within a few hours of their installation in one hotel the staff took care to mix up their boots as a demonstration. The Rumanian people, though externally volatile, mean no ill towards us, and we have indeed many stout and loyal friends still, but the Rumanians have been betrayed by a Government which has in turn broken every promise it has made. Even the promises made to the Queen Mother Helen as a condition of her return—namely, that there should be no vilification of the late King, no disgusting exhibitions, and an end to the baiting of British subjects—have been forgotten.

The Crown has been reduced to a mere cipher. The Prime Minister is losing grip. The Iron Guard is a band of "thugs," whose main amusement is marching, bullying and spying. The police are impotent and the Army, though boiling with indignation, is powerless. General Hansen and General Speidel rule the land with the aid of their own armed forces and of the Gestapo.

Following hard on their occupation of Rumania, the Axis Powers are rapidly extending their grip on communications. The Germans are reported to have demanded the right to control all roads in Rumania, and the Italians are now forming a company, to be called the First Danube Flotilla, to provide more tonnage for oil transport on the Danube. Building orders have already been placed with a Budapest shipyard. The Axis can at present muster tonnage enough for the yearly transport of about 3,000,000 tons of goods and rather more than 1,000,000 tons of oil.

Fresh information has now arrived from Vienna on Axis intentions in the Balkans. This source, quoting authoritative sources in Berlin, states that the air attack on Great Britain and a fair proportion of the German armed forces in the west are

to be maintained in order to keep Great Britain in check, while many large-scale operations are planned for the Near East. The aim of these, it is thought, will be to break through the blockade and to drive a way through the Balkans across Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf.

In Berlin the arrival of German troops in Rumania is expected to be the prelude, first, of a political offensive in the Balkans and the Near East and only afterwards of a military offensive. It is now learnt that on his visit to Germany M Bagrianoff, Bulgarian Minister of Agriculture, was in fact accompanied by Bulgarian staff officers in mufti, who met members of the German General Staff. According to Vienna, both Hungary and Bulgaria now agree in principle to the entry of German troops.

It is expected that the occupation of Bulgaria would sooner or later be followed by an ultimatum to Turkey to permit the passage of troops to the Near East or face the consequences. As part of the political offensive, which is to be the prelude to military action, Mussolini's recent visit to Italian troops on the Yugoslav border is considered to be the first demonstration—a warning to this country to keep quiet. In any case, it is clear that for effective operations in the Near East the Germans would need the control of the Simplon-Orient railway line through Yugoslavia to Salonika and Istanbul for the maintenance of supplies. The Balkan winter sets in relatively late—about December—after which the Danube is frozen and alternative communications would be necessary. Operations on a very large scale would presumably have to be withheld until the spring.

Meanwhile certain revealing facts about the Rumanian occupation are emerging. Even the pretence of a nominal Rumanian control of the Rumanian Army has now been dropped. The Ministries of Defence and of Air and Marine have been suppressed to make way for four Under-Secretariats of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and Supply. The General Staff has ordered all motor-car owners to put their cars in repair within six months. The Ministry of Communications has just signed a contract with the Italians to build a grand trunk road from Turnu Severin through Craiova, Bucharest, and Bacau to Braila and Galatz. The motor-car order is significant for its time limit. The road scheme is important as a plan to link the Black Sea port with the point on the Danube above which the heavier

barges cannot navigate, and where consequently transhipment has always been necessary

The Bucharest newspaper *Universul* announces an increase of 100 per cent in the price of veal, 120 per cent in that of black bread, 180 per cent in that of soap, 300 per cent in that of bread, 350 per cent in those of tomatoes and onions, and 400 per cent in that of runner beans. This alone gives a vivid picture of Germanized Rumania. But the phenomenon is apparent elsewhere also. Trading exclusively with the Axis, every Balkan country now has its meatless days. In Bulgaria prices have risen 40 per cent since the war began. In Yugoslavia prices have risen 100 per cent since the beginning of 1939, and the peasants are bitter at seeing the bread prices soaring to points equal to four times the prices they are getting for their wheat. They make no secret of their bitterness, and it was strikingly attested by a German in Negotin, who was asked by a Yugoslav peasant what impression he would take home with him to Germany. "First you have enough to eat," he replied. "Secondly you hate us all like poison."

The steady increase of German military and para-military units moving down the Danube, the waning of General Antonescu's influence by comparison with that of the obscure adventurers who lead the Iron Guard and are simply creatures of the Nazis, the increasing German control over the economic life of Rumania all point in the same direction.

Germany has made a gigantic food raid down the Danube and it may not stop at Rumania. In Bulgaria the effect of the German success is unfortunate. It is reflected in attacks on King Boris, and in the increasing activity of the pro-Axis elements among the politicians and in the Army, where many officers, juniors for the most part but the more adventurous for that, wish the country to throw in its lot with the Germans. The increasing doubt whether Russia will take any step to prevent a German drive in the Balkans is having its effect in political circles, and the release of Colonel Velcheff, who is now supposed to have Russian sympathies, may not avail to stop the pro-Axis trend. There is indeed no evidence that any German troops have entered Bulgaria, but the percolation of civil and military specialists and experts, journalists, "tourists," and persons employed by German Consulates and trade delegations is large enough to arouse much anxiety among neutral-minded Bulgars and in neighbouring Balkan countries.

Germans in Rumania

From THE TIMES of October 8, 1940

In one guise or another German troops are clearly permeating Rumania. Some days ago our Balkans Correspondent reported the presence there of armed S S detachments ostensibly concerned with the repatriation of Germans from Bessarabia. These, it is said, have now been followed by regular units amounting, according to one report, to the strength of a division. On Sunday General Antonescu, the Prime Minister and self-styled "leader" of Rumania, appeared for the first time in the uniform of the Iron Guard, and made a speech in which he revealed nothing of the military designs of his Nazi patrons. These designs, according to a statement issued in Bucharest last night, are based on the desire of the Rumanian Army for "real and comradely" cooperation with the Axis Powers, and in particular for the support of Germany's industrial organization in obtaining technical supplies. The reports that German troops are actually on the march are officially denied. But in any case the form of words in which the incursion will be blessed by its victims, and gratitude expressed to its perpetrators, is of little moment.

Some of the circumstances attending the new development in Rumania are, however, a matter of direct concern to Great Britain. During the past fortnight several leading British business men in Rumania, mainly though not solely those engaged in the oil industry, have been arrested. No regular judicial proceedings have been instituted against them. The protests of the British Minister have been met by the Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs with cowardly evasions. But unhappily the evidence available shows beyond any possibility of doubt that some or all of those under arrest have been subjected to physical violence in order to extort confessions of intended sabotage in the oil-fields. The alleged revelations obtained by this process are one of the pretexts for the Nazi action. As usual, Germany has intervened for the purpose of protecting her victims against Great Britain.

It need hardly be said that these charges are a hollow sham. Throughout the earlier part of the war Rumania was bound by ties of alliance to Great Britain and France. Nazi tactics of sudden and unprovoked attack on neutral countries had become familiar and it would have been criminal negligence on the part of the Rumanian Government not to have made plans, in the event

of such an attack, for the destruction of oil wells and other objects of military value. In drawing up such plans, British and French managers and engineers in the oilfields may well have been consulted. Whether any of those now under arrest had taken part in such consultations it is impossible to say. But the Rumanian authorities are guilty of the most revolting hypocrisy when they make such projects a pretext for the brutal maltreatment of British subjects. The methods adopted are unfortunately too much like those employed recently against British subjects in Japan to leave any question of the ultimate source of their inspiration. But it would be a grave mistake for those who perpetrate or condone these outrages at the instigation of Berlin to suppose that they are doing themselves or their country any good. These things will be remembered in the day of reckoning.

For the present Rumanian independence is virtually ended. This eclipse, like that of other countries now in the grip of ruthless Nazi oppression and exploitation, is temporary. But it would be idle to pretend that the policy of successive Rumanian Governments has not contributed largely to the disaster, or that Rumania can hope to enjoy the same measure of sympathy in her downfall as those countries whose courage did not waver in the face of overwhelming odds. Rumania emerged from the last War, in which she had not displayed conspicuous constancy of purpose, with unequalled advantages; but these were quickly nullified by the instability of her politicians both at home and abroad. In the last few years King Carol appeared to be making a sincere effort to place Rumanian policy on a sounder footing. But at the moment of crisis he wavered, tried to make the best of both worlds, and finally entrusted himself to the tender mercies of Nazi protection. Both he and his country have their reward.

The latest movement may be the first of the "deeds, not words" which we were warned to expect as the result of the Brenner meeting between the dictators. If so, it is neither a very terrifying nor a very significant contribution to the Nazi campaign against Great Britain. Nor does it seem likely to produce any marked effect on the situation in south-east Europe, or to counteract the influence of the almost undisputed control exercised by the British Fleet, and once more illustrated by recent operations, in the Eastern Mediterranean. Hungary had long ceased to be able to defend her neutrality, and can hardly feel more firmly encircled than she has been for some time past. Soviet Russia acquires another *de facto* common frontier with Germany and

sees a great Power established on the Black Sea—circumstances which will afford her no pleasure, but which will hardly cause her to alter her cautious policy. Turkey will be made more alive than ever to the need for vigilance. Greece has already proved that firmness is the only form of tactics which affords protection against the menaces of the dictators. Italy has had, not for the first time, to watch her masterful ally taking a vigorous single-handed initiative in a sphere which she had formerly coveted as her own preserve. For the rest Germany has once more shown her willingness and her capacity to dominate a virtually undefended country, and has once more demonstrated that she treats the subservient with contempt and respects only those who have the determination to defend themselves.

The Balkan Thrust

From THE TIMES of October 14, 1940

Little more than a week has passed since Hitler and Mussolini marshalled their armoured trains side by side on the Brenner Pass. If the nature of their discussions can be judged by the sequel, it would appear that their eyes were turned mainly towards the south-east. This is, in one sense, encouraging. Hitler has been compelled to recognize that the *Blitzkrieg* against Britain is yielding no prospects of victory and none of those quick, dramatic results which are necessary to his prestige at home and abroad. Spain, in spite of the blandishments lavished on Señor Suñer, has not committed herself, so far as can be divined, to a departure from her watchful attitude. Marshal Graziani has had time to experience some of the uncomfortable realities of the campaign launched against Egypt at a moment when German bombers were supposed to be on the point of reducing London to ruins and paralysing British power. When the dictators reviewed the situation as a whole, the line of least resistance must have seemed to lead through the Balkans, where there were still States whom they accounted weak enough to intimidate. The first step—the bloodless subjugation of Rumania—has been successfully undertaken during the past week.

Indications of Axis designs in this region had been accumulating for some time. The disgraceful Italian outcry against Greece last August was obviously intended to test Greek mettle. Hitler

may well have been content to leave this experiment to his partner When Greece stood firm, the retreat did not involve German prestige Rumania, on the other hand—disorganized, divided in counsel, and distrusted by her neighbours—was an easy prey to the Nazi policy of intimidation It is now broadly hinted in Berlin that Bulgaria has been marked down as the next victim Meanwhile the agreement with Japan, among its other purposes, has served notice on Soviet Russia not to meddle in a sphere reserved for the activities of the Axis Before this move Soviet prestige in the Balkans, and especially in Bulgaria, had been rising steadily How the future of German-Soviet relations is now being viewed in these countries may be judged from the dispatches published this morning from our Correspondents in Bucharest and Istanbul

A credible outline of the Axis plan now seems to be shaping itself It amounts in brief to administration of the *coup de grâce* to Egypt and the Suez Canal by some fresh form of pressure if not indeed by actual attack from the north The defection of France, the dissolution of the French Army of the Levant, and its unhappy reaction upon British strategy in the Near East seemed to open the way for such a move Since July the Italians have been busy intriguing in Syria, though their activities have excited Arab suspicions and fanned Arab animosities against the Axis Nothing—so the argument may have run—but further pressure exerted through Turkish territory could hope to make any serious impression on the British forces in Egypt and Palestine In no other way can the so-called pincers of the Axis be made to close on the British stronghold in the Eastern Mediterranean

There are two obstacles to the realization of any such grandiose plan The first is the power and spirit of Turkey It is significant that the successes of the Axis in south-eastern Europe have been achieved exclusively at the expense of those who allowed themselves to be bribed or terrorized Yugoslavia, though her policy may not always have been downright, has so far been saved from molestation by her well-known determination to defend herself and by the reputation of her troops as stubborn fighters in difficult country Greece has hitherto been spared because she has presented a firm front to the bully Turkey is the strongest military Power in the Near East, and stands second to none both in the proud assertion of her independence and in the capacity to resist any infringement of it She has a long experience of German ambitions, and shows no sign of willingness to be either bribed

or browbeaten If Germany tried to force a way across the Near East, then (declared the Turkish official wireless at the week-end) 2,000,000 Turkish bayonets would bar the way. In recent months the Turkish course has sometimes been rendered difficult by the uncertain policy of her great neighbour It may be hoped that on this occasion the traditional interest of Soviet Russia in the integrity of Turkish territory and in the security of the Straits will free Turkish statesmen from any embarrassments in that quarter Turkey will be saved by her own resolution Our Military Correspondent drew attention on Friday to the geographical difficulties and the climatic hazards of any military operation conducted against our forces through Turkey In fact, as the Axis Powers must know, its practicability is dependent on Turkish acquiescence It could not be carried through in the teeth of such determined opposition as it is likely to meet

The second obstacle to the project is the growing strength of Great Britain in the Eastern Mediterranean Had the Axis Powers been able to launch their offensive at the moment of the French armistice, the threat might have been formidable. Since that time, however, successive reinforcements of men and material have reached the British military, naval, and air forces in the Near East These forces are now far stronger than at any time since June, and the process of reinforcement will be cumulative This fact will everywhere encourage resistance to the campaign of menace and terror without the actual waging of war which is now the staple Nazi weapon The methods of the Axis make it clearer every day that the liberties, and indeed the very existence, of lesser Powers are dependent on a British victory, and the growing strength of British arms encourages and justifies among them that resolution through which alone national independence can hope to survive.

VIII

THE INSATIABLE MAW

RUTHLESS NAZI PLUNDERING IN OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

GOLDEN AGE IN PRACTICE

From THE TIMES of September 20, 1940

DAY by day the Germans are plundering the countries they have enslaved. They make no bones about it. It is unfitting, Dr Ley has declared, that Poles should presume to have the same standards of life as the Germans. The standard of living of the Dutch must be lowered, writes the *Deutsche Volkswirt*, if the conquered country is to supply Germany with food. We Germans, says the *Volkischer Beobachter* in the true Goebbels style, have as much interest in the French harvest as the French themselves. The economic system of Europe must be organized, says Dr Funk, to guarantee to the German people the highest possible standard of well-being.

Everywhere the purpose is the same, to turn the enslaved peoples into helots in the service of the German *Herrenvolk*, the lordly ones, the master bullies. The promised golden age is one in which all other nations will be placidly agricultural, hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Nordic engineers, mechanized warriors and men of science. That is for the future. But for the moment there is no pretence at laying the foundations even for that cheerless future. The Germans' chief concern so far has been to plunder and to stock their own granaries at the expense of their oppressed peoples.

In every country which they have overrun they have commandeered outright nearly all the food reserves and have ordered the slaughtering of much of the livestock. During this week alone,

September 16 to 22, Germany is taking over 17,000 sheep from Denmark, 15,000 for immediate slaughter, 2,000 for grazing Over 11,000 head of cattle are similarly being taken from Denmark to the Western districts of the Reich Holland lost nine-tenths of her large butter reserves in a week Out of 28,000,000 poultry in the Netherlands 22,000,000 are being killed this autumn. "The slaughtering of pigs in Holland," says the *Kolnische Zeitung*, "is being accelerated" The meat which cannot be sold in Holland will be sent to Germany, "where more storage space is available," a neat way of saying that Germany will take the lot, as she has begun to do. Only the other day came the German wireless boast that Germany had taken 43,000,000kgs of early potatoes from Holland within three months—whereas, the wireless added, Holland's exports of early potatoes to all countries in the world amounted to no more than 27,000,000kgs in a normal three-months period From the enslaved countries as a whole Germany has added 2,000,000 tons of wheat to her own reserves , and has just demanded 780,000 tons from France

These are only a few of the statistical examples that have come recently of a process that is general and continuous From Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and now from both halves of France, comes evidence of general decrees for the commandeering or the slaughtering of stock. From Norway Germany takes 200 tons of fish daily. From Belgium she takes all the available eggs, and Belgian producers have been warned of penalties should they try to sell without a German-controlled licence Exports of herrings from several countries have been prohibited , all are to go to Germany Out of the Bohemian Protectorate the Germans are taking wheat by the wagon load Even the depleted Polish stocks are systematically raided.

The story is often told of how Blucher, fresh from Waterloo, looked at London from the dome of St Paul's "Was fur Plunder !" he was heard to mutter under his breath What a city to plunder—the Germans of to-day say it aloud as they gaze round their oppressed countries Their manner of getting what they want varies from place to place In Bohemia and in Poland in the first days they used the methods of loot pure and simple Wheat and other food were piled high on wagons and driven away Elsewhere they have used forced labour, forced sales, forced prices Sometimes there is a show of bartering The

Germans always speak genially of their bartering system as though it recaptured the simplicity and the brotherly spirit of the days when Solomon sent measures of wheat and measures of pure oil to Hiram, King of Tyre, who returned him cedar trees and fir trees, according to his desire. What often happens in these totalitarian days is that the Germans take what they want and promise to pay for it in machinery or in services later at their own price and in their own time. Even before the war many Balkan countries found that German barter was one-way traffic.

Perhaps it was the success which Germany gained in those pre-war days that encouraged Dr Schacht and Dr Funk in their present system of "trading" in the countries now under Germany. In the pre-war days the Reich received great imports from the Central European and Balkan countries, and, instead of paying for all of them, let the debt run up in the clearing account. Sometimes a country would become recalcitrant, its Government would point to the German debt owing to them and threatened to send no more goods until it was reduced. But generally there was no trouble. The country had the German promise to pay and had to be content with that.

For the people in the oppressed countries there is now no possibility of protest. The German debt, the promises to pay, can run up endlessly. The Germans accordingly let them run up. They take goods from Holland, Denmark, Belgium, Norway, and France, and in return give German bonds, or paper money in the local currency based on German bonds. Their promises give the transaction a legalistic form, but it is no more than a confidence trick.

At the moment its effects are disguised. Shopkeepers and industrialists in the oppressed countries sell goods to Germans on demand, and in return they receive either paper money in their own currency or else *Reichskreditkassenscheine* (Reich credit office vouchers), which they can pass through their own Central Bank, and in return are given money in their own currency. The seller is left believing that he has not done so badly. True, he is short of food and consumers' goods like all the rest of his countrymen, but he has money for his wallet and can buy whatever is going.

What he as yet only dimly realizes is that the money is insubstantial and inflationary. In essence what is happening in

every enslaved country is that the Germans are taking goods out as fast as they can and are putting only paper money in. They are in control of all the national Central Banks and have ordered them to run off more issues of their currency to meet the German purchases, or the *Reichskreditkassenscheine*, or the increased expenditure due to war and occupation. All that is behind the new money is a bundle of German bonds (which in normal times the Central Banks would not have touched with a barge-pole) or German promises to honour the issue in the day of victory. It is sheer inflation.

Nor is that all. The deception is greater. In all the oppressed countries the Reichsmark is over-valued, more goods can be bought with it than it is worth. Recently decrees have aggravated the disproportion by pushing down the value of the local currency, while at the same time prohibiting any compensatory rise in prices. A German concern, using doubly or trebly over-valued marks, can therefore purchase goods for a mere song and shares in local industries for a trifle.

The result in the unfortunate countries concerned is that even the little which seems fairly good is deceptive. The whole economy is on thin ice. A crack or a thaw and the whole thing collapses. Meanwhile Dr Schacht and Dr Funk hope that by filling Germany with goods they will put off the day of uncontrolled inflation at home.

The Germans can manipulate money and credit. They cannot manipulate food. There are no fake *Scheine* to take the place of the supplies they have taken out of the oppressed countries. Proof of the lack already developing is seen in the comparative rations for the Germans and for the people under their control. The ration cards do not tell all the story, for many of the oppressed people find that they cannot buy even the amounts to which they are limited. What the ration cards show is that the Germans are deliberately underfeeding the people whom they declare are under their protection. In almost every commodity the amount of food is less outside the Reich than inside. In some instances those "protected" are given less than half of what is allowed to the Germans.

Wherever the German oppression is examined it is found to be based on ruthlessness, cynical exploitation, deceit.

MAKING SERFS FOR GERMANY

THE COMPULSORY MIGRATION OF WORKERS

PUTTING "MEIN KAMPF" INTO PRACTICE

From THE TIMES of October 31, 1940

"IT IS not defeat that France will now be made to suffer at German hands, but the doom of complete obliteration," said Mr Churchill in his broadcast to France "Army, Navy, Air Force, religion, laws, language, culture, institutions, literature, history, tradition—all are to be effaced by the brute strength of a triumphant army and the scientific low cunning of a ruthless police force"

The process of national destruction of conquered peoples is in operation wherever the German armies have marched. It has reached varying stages of development. Poland has suffered the extreme of its conscienceless inhumanity. Denmark has been treated with a show of consideration that still leaves no room for deviation from the dictates of the iron German rule. The range of action is between these extremes, but is progressive. National destruction is not for the Germans a phase of military operations to be abandoned with the cessation of hostilities. Rather is it a fixed and deliberate policy of subjugation—a first step in the "New Order" for Europe—of which war, or threat of war, or an unresisted occupation is the earliest step. Economic exploitation of a neighbour, who is first robbed of economic and then of political independence, and so made subservient to the Nazi conception of the super-rights of the German, are other means, less drastic in their beginning, to the same end of the complete domination of a master race.

Only one of the Nazi methods of sapping conquered nations of their spirit and life is to be touched on here. The drafting of subjugated peoples to what is practical serfdom in Germany is not an improvisation, nor wholly a war measure, but is part of a conception of the conqueror's right and even his duty that existed at least in embryo in Hitler's broodings on the German destiny of power and overlordship. Here again is an instance of German action fulfilling the precepts laid down in *Mein Kampf*, where the Nazi mind is so often laid open

EUROPE UNDER THE NAZI SCOURGE

Had it not been possible for them to employ members of the inferior race which they had conquered, the Aryans would never have been in a position to take the first steps on the road which led them to a later type of culture . Only after subjugated races were employed as slaves was a similar fate allotted to animals and not *vice versa*, as some people would have us believe . It was not by mere chance that the first forms of civilization arose where the Aryan race came in contact with inferior races, subjugated them, and forced them to obey his will. The members of the inferior race became the first mechanical tools in the service of a growing civilization

There is a second motive in the attempt, which is very far from success yet in any of the conquered countries, to undermine the power of national resistance.—

Those nations [Hitler wrote] which lay down their arms without being absolutely forced to do so subsequently prefer to submit to the greatest humiliations and exactions rather than try to change their fate by resorting to arms again . A shrewd conqueror will always enforce his exactions on the conquered only by stages, so far as that is possible Then he may expect that a people who have lost all strength of character—which is always the case with every nation that voluntarily submits to the threats of an opponent—will not find in any of these acts of oppression, if one be enforced apart from the other, sufficient grounds for taking up arms again.

Of what is happening step by step in Norway the *Finanstidende* of Copenhagen wrote on October 16.—

Even Africa's negro races are to-day considered fellow-men requiring consideration and understanding The reorganization of Norway from a free democratic country to a link in the chain of German nationalism proceeds apace On the 9th there was an announcement that the use of the royal names was forbidden , on the 10th that the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Defence had been abolished , on the 11th that the State Council was obliged to dismiss Civil servants who failed to agree with the new order and that students' organizations were being dissolved

Belgian women as well as men are being transferred to Germany. The women are to be employed as domestic servants or in the textile industry From German sources it was reported at the end of August that the workless in Belgium numbered 1,000,000 (in a nation of 8,000,000 people) and that 23,000 Belgian work-people had gone into Germany. The *Brusseler Zeitung* wrote on September 8 —

The Germans are taking advantage of the unemployment and breakdown of labour protection in Belgium to drain off man-power into Germany Thirty-three thousand Belgian workers, including 2,000 who worked as miners in the north of France, have taken jobs within the Reich The number includes metal workers, building, textile and wool workers, farm hands, and servants

Even when the migrants go as nominal volunteers there is the compulsion of unemployment without assistance to drive them. For the departure of the first 1,500 Flemish workmen for Germany the Stuivenberg station was decorated with German flags and the Antwerp coat of arms. But a more sinister coercion may be exercised, as witness the following statements with regard to Poland —

Unemployed who do not volunteer for land work in Germany can be forced to work (*Krakauer Zeitung*, May 3)

If necessary, up to 1,000,000 Polish workers will be raised from the territory of the General-Government in Poland. Certainly about 700,000 will shortly be put to work from that territory (Official statement by Franz Seldte, *Die Zeit*, March 8)

Some idea of the extent of this migration may be gathered from miscellaneous extracts which indicate that the movement is by no means at an end but developing. The policy is being extended to France, but it is too early to obtain particulars of the French migration —

A German Labour Exchange was opened in Copenhagen on May 24. On June 1 the first transport of 600 Danish workmen left Copenhagen. It is pointed out that this scheme works on a voluntary basis. Part of the wages earned in Germany can be sent to dependents in Denmark (German broadcast in Dutch, June 13)

Three thousand Danish workers are employed in Hamburg and the surrounding districts (German broadcast in Danish, July 3).

Fifteen thousand Danes are now working in Germany. It is said that this number will be increased to 25,000. A central office in Hamburg has been opened for dealing with this work (*Politiken*, Copenhagen, September 24)

During the month of July alone 20,000 Belgians were sent to Germany to work (*Deutsche Zeitung in Norwegen*, September 26)

During the last few weeks over 25,000 workers have left Luxemburg for Germany (*Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederländern*, September 20)

One million prisoners of war and 1,100,000 foreign workers are now employed in Germany. A further million is required (*Berlingske Aftenavia*, Copenhagen, October 4)

More than 35,000 Belgian workers are now being employed in Germany (*Der Neue Tag*, Prague, September 20)

Dutch workers in Germany now number 50,000. This figure is to be increased considerably (*Sydvenska Dagbladet*, Malmo, October 3)

Offices have been installed in the Quai d'Orsay for French workers to go to Germany (*Tribune de Genève*, September 26)

The promise to the Danes that part of the wages earned in Germany could be remitted home was made also to the Poles and belied

In the *General Gouvernement* unemployed are pressed for work in Germany and, in fact, quotas are often imposed on municipalities of labour to be supplied for emigration. Thus 1,000,000 of the best—skilled metal workers and engineers, agricultural labourers, and domestic servants—have been removed to Germany, but without benefit to the remaining population, for while the promise was given that remittances home would be allowed up to 100 zloty [about £2 10s] a month, the total pay of the workers is about half this amount and as a rule barely covers their maintenance.

It is all beautifully summed up by Oberregierungsrat Dr Stothfang, of the Reich Ministry of Labour, who, as quoted by the German Official News Agency, *D N B*, on October 7, said that “the new position of the Greater German Reich, with its many great State-political and war-economic tasks, together with its central position, attracts the labour of neighbouring countries”

But if the way into Germany is open, and even compulsory, the return is not so sure. Radio Paris, German controlled, announced on August 15 that Danish workers who return from Germany are obliged to possess a certificate by their employers that their engagement has been terminated or that they have been given a holiday. “It has been decided that the Danish workers cannot cross the frontier without such a paper.” So the Greater German Reich attracts the labour of neighbouring countries.

And what will happen after the war? Germany will want, and claim, a still greater external labour supply. The authority for the statement is again the German Official News Agency, *D N B*, of October 7, which said.—

With regard to the employment of Italian agricultural and industrial workers, who to-day number 90,000, it is a further proof of the close connexion between Rome and Berlin. Lately labour has been obtained from Denmark, Holland, and Belgium for employment in Germany in an ever-increasing degree. It can already be said with certainty that, after ending the war victoriously, a further increase will occur, especially as a continuous shortage of German workers is to be expected.

Meanwhile the occupied territories will be bled to pay for this war.

The revenue from taxation alone which may be expected from the new parts of the Reich under normal economic conditions will be sufficient for the service and amortization of the armaments debt incurred by the Reich (Josef Winschuh writing in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 6)

Despoiling Europe

From THE TIMES of September 20, 1940

Rumania has celebrated her adhesion to the Axis by rationing the consumption of bread by her people. The pretext given is the poor harvest this year in what is normally one of the biggest grain-producing and grain-exporting countries in Europe. The real reason is that the Nazi war machine requires to be fed, and fed more and more at the expense of the countries it has enslaved. From Rumania it expects corn as well as oil, and to supply the corn the people of Rumania must go on short commons. Ever since Germany began her career of conquest she has sought to make conquest pay for itself, wherever possible with a profit to be used for facilitating further conquests. In every country in which the Nazi legions have set foot the standard of living has been immediately reduced, and is being reduced still further, to maintain that of Germany and to feed the legions. The procedure however has varied from country to country to fit in with the needs of German policy. Austria was treated as a part of Germany, though an inferior part, the economic life and requirements of which had to be subordinated to those of the rest of the Reich. Czecho-Slovakia and Poland were despoiled and enslaved without much pretence. Germany simply took whatever she needed from them. Great numbers of their men were carried off to forced labour in any part of Germany where they were needed to till the fields, man the factories, or dig fortifications, and every kind of humiliation and injustice has been heaped upon them. The industries which were permitted to remain were harnessed to the task of producing munitions for the German Army or to feed the German organization in other ways. Germany felt no need for the good will of Czechs and Poles, whom they regarded as inferior beings created to serve their Teutonic masters.

In the more recently conquered countries, in the Scandinavian and the Low Countries and in France, where it was felt necessary for a time to present a less forbidding face, different tactics were necessary. Our Diplomatic Correspondent explains in an article some of the devices which are being used. These countries are being despoiled for the benefit of Germany even if, so far, not quite so ruthlessly as Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, and the methods are rather those of the card-sharper than of the highway robber. Before the war Dr Schacht had invented ingenious ways by which the produce of other lands

could be transferred to Germany without any need to make more than an illusory return Many countries in their need for markets fell victims to these barter agreements and clearing arrangements, though they became reluctant to make new bargains when they began to realize how consistently the deal was rigged in Germany's favour They sought anxiously for other more honest customers, and their disillusion became a serious impediment to Dr. Schacht's operations. His pupils need fear no such impediment to their dealings with the countries which have been dragged by force into Germany's *Lebensraum*, for they have them completely at their mercy. The Governmenis of these countries, even where they are not mere puppets set up by the Germans, exist on German sufferance and, as Marshal Pétain explained in a pathetic outburst of candour, are obliged to dance whenever Germany pulls the strings Equally important, the Germans have taken complete control of the central banks and are thus able to inflate the currencies at will and to juggle with the exchanges in any way which suits them. Whatever method is employed the result is the same, the real wealth of the subjugated peoples finds its way to Germany

What has occurred in all these countries is only a fresh demonstration of the kind of "new order" which Germany seeks to establish in Europe No other people is to have any independent life or will of its own, and all the economic resources of the Continent are to be enlisted to supply the German machine of conquest. Dr Funk himself has explained that the standard of living of the conquered peoples must be reduced to maintain the standard of living in Germany For those countries which have escaped so far falling under German domination the warning is plain. For us there is an equally plain lesson to be drawn Since everything which the subjugated peoples produce for themselves or import from abroad is at the disposition of their German masters the blockade must be drawn tighter and ever tighter The recent extension of the navicert system seems to be working effectively, backed as it is by the regulations which ensure that the facilities of British ports shall be available only to ship-owners who agree to conform to the system These regulations have now been strengthened by a revival of the black list of ships which will be denied all facilities and for which navicerts will not be issued It will be an offence for any person to transact business with any shipowner named in this list The object of the system is to shut off all trade with the outside world from the whole

DESPOILING EUROPE

area controlled by Germany and her Italian ally. Other countries from which goods might find their way without difficulty into this area are being rationed to ensure that they do not receive more supplies than are required for their own needs and thus cannot serve as channels to Germany. This rationing system must inevitably raise problems of real difficulty, as in the case of oil imports into Spain, concerning which an agreement has just been reached. But these problems have to be faced. We are fighting not only for our own lives, but for all that will make life tolerable in Europe and in the world, and nothing that we can stop must be allowed to fall into the grasp of plundering Nazism.



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